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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN CALVIN.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN CALVIN;

COMPILED FROM THE NARRATIVE OF

THEODORE BEZA,

AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

ACCOMPANIED WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

Reformation.

BY

JOHN MACKENZIE.

TAKE ESPECIAL CARE, BEFORE YOU AIM YOUR SHAFTS AT CALVINISM, THAT YOU KNOW WHAT IS CALVINISM, AND WHAT IS NOT. *BISHOP HORSLEY*

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

The great importance of biography, as a medium of public instruction, appears to be very generally admitted. Curiosity, a principle of active and extended influence, ever in quest of gratification, cannot be too early supplied with interesting and instructive objects, by an acquaintance with which intellectual attainments, and moral improvement, may be happily promoted. To render biography conducive to these ends, it is obviously necessary, that genuine and attainable excellence of character be carefully attended to in the selection of subjects; as the exhibition of spurious morality, or unattainable perfection, must necessarily defeat the moral effect of the most alluring narrative. Excellence of character, arising from a great variety of causes, must be estimated chiefly by its moral influence; and it is principally under this view, that the enlightened biographer will chuse to pourtray the subjects of his history. As genuine religion forms the basis of public morality, as well as of private virtue, it is certain that national prosperity and individual happiness must be wholly indebted for their maturity to such an association. To expect elevation of character, either national or individual, upon any other principle, is to seek (in the expressive language of the highest authority) to "gather grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles."

How far these views of biography are just in themselves, or have been illustrated in the following work, it is not for the author to determine. The great variety of opinion existing on the character and sentiments of the subject of these Memoirs, renders an attempt to illustrate them compatible, at least, with the general ends of Biography. Entertaining the highest veneration for the character which he has attempted to pourtray, the author has aimed at clearing it from those aspersions, which have their foundation in ignorance and malevolence.

While he has thus been anxious to vindicate an injured name, it will, he trusts, be apparent, that he has not been influenced by blind partiality or sectarian zeal. So far as he is acquainted with his own motives, he feels no hesitation in avowing, that they are such as he wishes to carry with him, unaltered, to the grave. If an attempt to rescue a great character from the *fangs of calumny,* and to vindicate the doctrines of the glorious reformation, should expose the author to the shafts of opprobious censure, he will be abundantly compensated by the verdict of an approving conscience, and the sanction of discriminating readers,

When it is considered that the public is not in possession of any detached Life of Calvin, in English, there can be no doubt but that such a work, executed with care and impartiality, must be considered a desideratum in Evangelical Biography.

With respect to the arrangement of the several parts, the author has adopted that which appeared to him, upon the whole, the most eligible.

It will be sufficiently obvious to every intelligent reader, that the materials for the work have been derived from the most authentic sources, most of which are acknowledged. In addition to the Narrative of Beza, the author has to confess considerable obligations to a living author, Monsieur J. Senebier, of whose excellent work, entitled, "Histoire Litteraire de Genève," he has made considerable use.

Confident that the general principles maintained in the following pages require no apology, the author commends them to His blessing, whose glory they are intended to promote, and who alone can render them really and extensively useful.

J. M.

Huntingdon, Nov. 1809.

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INTRODUCTION.

To those persons who are adequately impressed with the advantages resulting from the glorious Reformation, a brief sketch of its history will not fail to prove interesting. Nor will the lessons of practical wisdom which such a subject affords, be overlooked by the intelligent reader, who will so distinguish principles, and discriminate character, as to derive ample improvement from the varied scene which may pass in review before him.

Dark and dreary as was the night of superstition, during which, luxurious priests revelled in wanton profligacy; its termination, decreed by Infinite Goodness, slumbered not. The means by which the reign of spiritual tyranny was to be overthrown, did not indeed form the subject of prophesy; nor could the most penetrating mind have developed their certain issue. The indignation of individuals excited by particular abuses, appears however to have proved essentially useful in demolishing the hoary pile of corruption; as in the instances of Wickliffe, and of Luther in particular. Disgusted with the shameless profligacy of the Mendicant orders, and with the conduct of the Popes their patrons, Wickliffe threw off all restraint, and despising the superstition of the times, exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, which he translated into English.

Persecution against reputed heretics, now raged with tremendous fury. John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, men of exalted piety, and considerable distinction in Bohemia, had made themselves many enemies among the clergy, by their disinterested and spirited remonstrances. Huss, in particular, had exasperated the see of Rome, by his attempts to detach the university of Prague from the papal jurisdiction of Gregory XII. Summoned to appear before the council of Constance, and furnished with a safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund; the process against him was precipitated with all the ardour of ecclesiastical zeal. On the 6th day of July 1415, he was led to the fatal pile, where he suffered death with an heroic constancy, worthy of the cause which he had espoused.

Prompted by a generous solicitude to support his persecuted friend, Jerome hastened to the council. Terrified, however, by the prospect of a cruel death, he was induced to make some concessions; but soon recovering his fortitude, he professed anew the opinions which he had for a moment abandoned, and illustrated their sublime efficacy in the flames, in which he expired on the 30th of May 1416.

The principles of these heroic men, immortal as their spirits, survived the flames which had destroyed their bodies; nor was the cry from under the altar unheard. Their blood proved indeed "the seed of the church," and produced the fruits, of which Britons now so richly partake.

The dawn of the sixteenth century, serene and mild, predicted a day of tranquillity; nor had the Roman pontiffs, apparently, any cause to apprehend those storms which were about to burst upon them. The Waldenses, Albigenses, and Beghards, together with the Bohemians, were "vanquished, though unsubdued." *The strong man armed kept his goods in peace, little suspecting that a stronger than he was about to dispossess him.* The causes, however, which contributed to the overthrow of Antichrist, were various and irresistible. Amongst these, the revival of learning in Europe, and the sudden appearance of a number of men of genius, served like so many constellations to cheer and illumine the night of ignorance and of superstition. The colloquies of Erasmus in particular, as they contained a great deal of pungent satire against the monks, excited their warmest indignation, and induced them to say that "Erasmus laid the egg, which Luther hatched." The operation of learning in counteracting abuses sanctioned by antiquity, was, however, very gradual, as it had to contend, not only with the ignorance which identifies the utility of a custom with its antiquity, and thus consecrates abuses; but, also with a legislative authority, ever upon the alert against every thing exploded under the name of innovation, possessed also of affluence to bribe, and power to punish.

Julius II. dying in the year 1512, he was succeeded in 1513, by Leo X. of the family de Medici. Leo, though of a milder disposition than his predecessor, was equally indifferent about the interests of real religion. A man of letters, and a man of pleasure, his time was divided between conversation with men of letters, and pleasure; though the latter engrossed by far the larger proportion. He was remarkable for prodigality, luxury, and imprudence, nor has this holy father escaped the charge of impiety and atheism. He is not, however, to be accused of neglecting the object so dear to all his predecessors, that of aggrandizing the holy see. He took, therefore, the utmost care that nothing should be transacted in the council of the Lateran, which Julius left sitting, that had the remotest tendency to the reformation of the church. He went indeed still farther, and in a conference with Francis I. king of France, at Bologna, engaged that monarch to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, and to substitute another body of laws, under the title of the *Concordate,* which was received by his subjects with the utmost indignation and reluctance.

To those who are acquainted with the entire influence of superstition over the minds which it once pervades, and the ingenious policy of interested priests in supporting and propagating it; the overthrow of the papal hierarchy, and the establishment of principles of the most contrary genius, effected without the intervention of external volence, must appear to be the result of a presiding Providence, which frequently illustrates its potent energy, by accomplishing events the most important, by the agency of means the most apparently inadequate. So degraded, indeed, was christianity at this period, that, though the reformers pretended to no miraculous assistance, it is evident that the same hand which first planted christianity, superintended the reformed faith from its early rise to its perfect maturity.

Immense as were the revenues of the pontificate, the prodigality, luxury, and magnificence of Leo, exhausted the coffers of the church. Money being indispensable to the voluptuous state and splendid projects of the pontiff, recourse was had to the never-failing expedient of a sale of indulgences, or remittances from the pains of purgatory.* The right of promulgating these indulgences in Germany, as well as a share of the profits arising from them, was granted to Albert, archbishop of Magdeburg, who employed a Dominican, of the name of John Tetzel, to proclaim in Germany the remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, to those who were rich enough to purchase those famous privileges. Assisted by the monks of his order, Tetzel executed his commission with more zeal than discretion ; though by disposing of the indulgences at a low price, they carried on a lucrative trade amongst those who possessed more money than understanding. The princes and nobles felt indignant at this method of draining the wealth of their vassals, in order to replenish the treasury of an extravagant pontiff. Even the common people were shocked at the behaviour of Tetzel and his associates, who consumed in drunkenness and debauchery, those sums which ignorance had appropriated to the purchase of eternal happiness.

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* "According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the Saints, over and above those which were necessary towards their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to Saint Peter, and to his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person, for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one in whose happiness he is interested, from the pains of purgatory. Julius II. had bestowed indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter, at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and expensive fabric, his grant was founded on the same pretence."

See Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 106.

An obscure monk at Wittemberg, disgusted with the pretensions and conduct of Tetzel, formed the resolution of checking his career. Martin Luther, a name for ever to be revered by every protestant, challenged Tetzel in ninety-five propositions, to defend himself and his pontifical employers, whom he censured as accomplices in these impositions on the people. Tetzel appeared immediately in the field, and attempted to refute Luther's propositions in two academical discourses, which he delivered on occasion of his promotion to the degree of doctor in divinity.

Leo X. who at first beheld this controversy with indifference, was at length roused by the Emperor Maximilian I. who informed him what fatal divisions it was likely to produce in Germany. Acting upon this information, he summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome, and there to plead the cause which he had undertaken to support. This summons, the effects of which, had it been complied with, it is not difficult to calculate, was superseded by the cautious policy of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, who asserted that the cause of Luther belonged to a German tribunal, and ought to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontiff, in compliance with the wishes of Frederick, ordered Luther to justify his conduct before Cardinal Cajetan, his legate, at the Diet of Augsburg. A more imprudent step could not have been taken by the court of Rome, as Cajetan being a Dominican, and the friend of Tetzel, was of all others the most unlikely to bring the controversy to a favourable issue.

Luther, however, obedient to the pontiff's summons, repaired to Augsburg, where he had three interviews with the legate, who assumed so high a tone as to produce in the mind and conduct of the reformer, only disgust and indignation. Under the influence of these feelings, Luther departed suddenly from Augsburg, having appealed from the present decisions of the pontiff, to those which he should form when better instructed.

Mortified by the total failure of Cajetan's commission, Leo appointed a new legate. This person was Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight belonging to his court. Eminent for prudence, penetration, and address, he was admirably qualified for the management of so critical a commission. With the intention of securing the influence of Frederick, Leo dispatched Miltitz into Saxony with the golden consecrated *rose*, (the highest mark of distinction which the pontiffs were used to bestow upon their favourite princes,) and instructed him to compose the differences between Luther and Tetzel, and to effect a reconciliation between him and the court of Rome. The legate in his first conference with Luther, succeeded so far as to persuade him to write a submissive letter to Leo, in which he promised to observe a profound silence with reference to the subjects in debate, on the condition that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries. A second conference took place in the castle of Liebenwerd, and a third the year following, at Lichtenberg. From the moderation which prevailed on these occasions, great hopes were entertained of an amicable adjustment of the differences in discussion. But the imprudent arrogance of the court of Rome, blasted these fair blossoms, and renewed the controversy with increased asperity.

A public dispute which took place at this time, between Eckius, a zealous champion in the papal cause, and Carlostadt, a convert to the sentiments of Luther, proved eminently serviceable. The controversy itself turned upon the powers and freedom of the human will; and was followed by another between Luther and Eckius, concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman pontiff. One of the effects (not unfrequently the result of disputation) was an increase of bitterness on the part of Eckius, who from that period meditated the destruction of Luther.

Among the spectators of this ecclesiastical combat was Philip Melancthon, professor of Greek at Wittemberg, an intimate friend of Luther, as well as a promoter of his views. To the learning and influence of Melancthon, the Reformation must be allowed to be considerably indebted; though it is equally certain that the natural timidity of his disposition, and his excessive veneration for the great, prevented his improving that influence to its proper extent.

While the cause of Antichrist was thus visibly on the decline in Germany, it received a mortal wound in Switzerland from Ulric Zuingle, a canon of Zurich, a man who united with an extensive fund of learning, a spirit truly heroic. Disgusted by the sale of indulgences, entrusted to the ministry of an Italian monk, whose name was Samson, he commenced a resolute opposition against him, attended with considerable success. The effect of his exertions was so great as to discredit the pope's supremacy throughout the greater part of Switzerland.

The cause of the Reformation was still farther promoted by an imprudent step which Leo X. at the instigation of the Dominicans, was induced to take. Overcome by their importunity, he issued out a bull against Luther, dated the 15th of June 1520, in which forty-one pretended heresies, extracted from his writings, were solemnly condemned; and he was required within sixty days to retract his errors, and to solicit mercy from the offended pontiff, on pain of excommunication.

Foreseeing the inevitable effect of this rash measure, Luther prudently withdrew from the communion of a church which he had long considered as essentially corrupt and erroneous, and by putting the church of Rome out of *his* communion, deprived the pontiff's subsequent excommunication of all force and meaning. In the presence of an immense multitude of people of all ranks, he committed to the flames both the bull that had been issued against him, and the decretals and canons, relating to the pope's absolute jurisdiction. In about a month after this magnanimous step had been taken by the Saxon reformer, a second bull was issued out against him, by which he was expelled from the communion of the church, for having insulted the majesty of the Roman pontiff.*

The death of Maximilian I. making way for his grandson Charles V. to succeed him in the empire, Leo X. urged upon him the necessity of punishing Luther in the most exemplary manner; while Frederick the Wise, employed his influence with Charles, to shield him against the thunder of the Vatican. Indebted to the exertions of Frederick for his elevation to the empire, Charles had gratitude enough to satisfy the elector's demands. He resolved, therefore, that Luther should appear before a diet to be assembled at Worms, in order to secure him a public hearing, before any urgent steps were taken against him. The conduct of Luther before this assembly, was marked with equal modesty and firmness. On his return from Worms, he was surprized by some emissaries of the elector, disguised in masks, who conveyed him to the castle of Wartenburg, where he employed his involuntary leisure in composing works, which contributed greatly to the success of the cause in which he had embarked.

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* See Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. Cent. XVI. sect. i. p. 322.

The death of Leo occurring at this period, he was succeeded in the pontificate by Adrian VI. a native of Utrecht. Adrian, it appears, was possessed of more honesty than was consistent with the policy of that age; and was therefore warmly censured for his concessions on the subject of the corruptions of the church. Dying, however, in the course of a year, he was succeeded by Clement VII. a man as remarkable for a reserved character as Adrian had been for his frankness. The success of Luther, rapidly progressive, excited the attention of almost every nation, while it prompted to that freedom of investigation, which is the best friend of truth. The divisions which, however, crept in among the reformers on the subject of the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, by diverting their energy from their original object, proved productive of the most unfavourable effects.

Finding that Luther gained continual and important accessions of strength, the papists turned their attention to a species of warfare, upon which they placed more dependance, than upon that of *argument;* and intimated their intention of making war upon the Lutheran party. But this malicious purpose was providentially defeated by the existing troubles of Europe. The result of the diet assembled at Spire, proved much more favourable to the friends of the Reformation; the German princes refusing to execute the sentence that had been pronounced at Worms against Luther and his followers.

But the advantages resulting from the first diet of Spire were very limited in their duration, as, in a new diet assembled in the year 1529, in the same place, every change in the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church of Rome, was declared unlawful, until a general council should be assembled for the purpose of adjusting the disputed points. This decree being considered intolerable by the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the other members of the diet, who favoured the Reformation; they entered a solemn *protest* against it on the 19th of April, and appealed to a future council. From this circumstance arose the denomination of PROTESTANTS, which has ever since been given to those who renounce the communion of the church of Rome.

An attempt to bring to a termination the disputes which had produced such divisions in the empire, was now made by Charles, who was returning to Germany with the intention of being present at the approaching diet at Augsburg. As the emperor remained hitherto uninformed with reference to the peculiar sentiments of the reformers, the Elector of Saxony ordered Luther and his friends to commit to writing the principal articles of their religious system, and the grounds of their dissent from the church of Rome. Luther, therefore, delivered to the Elector of Torgaw, seventeen articles, which were afterwards called the *Articles of Torgaw.* These articles were extended by Melanchton, in a manner which illustrated the elegance and perspicuity of his mind; and afterwards formed the confession of Augsburg.

The alarm which Clement VII. expressed with reference to the spread of the Lutheran tenets, was by no means unfounded, as some of the most considerable provinces in Europe had cast off the Roman yoke. Soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, one of his disciples whose name was Olaus Petri, proclaimed religious liberty in Sweden. The exertions of this missionary were powerfully seconded by Gustavus Vasa Eriscon, a prince of extraordinary public spirit. In the year 1527, the reformed religion obtained at once a complete triumph, and a permanent establishment.

Denmark also, received the light of the Reformation so early as the year 1521. For this advantage it appears to have been indebted to Christian or Christiern II. who expressed an earnest desire to have his subjects instructed in the principles of Luther. His sole object, however, in favouring the principles of the Reformation, was the gratification of his ambition in destroying the influence of Rome in his dominions, and rendering himself supreme in church and state. Upon the deposition of Christiern, the cause of the Reformation found a more enlightened friend in the person of his uncle Frederick, Duke of Holstein and Sleswick, who was placed on the throne of Denmark. The glorious work of effectually destroying superstition, was however reserved for Christiern III. a prince of distinguished piety and prudence.

In the kingdom of France, the Reformation dawned auspiciously under the patronage of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I.

the formidable rival of Charles V. The situation of the friends of the Reformation was, however, extremely precarious. Sometimes reposing in the shade of royal protection, at others exposed to the scorching rays of persecution, they had nothing to confide in but their principles, which, however, yielded them solace and support.

About this time the famous Calvin, whose life will form the principal subject of the following pages, began to excite the attention of the public, and to attract the favourable notice of the Queen of Navarre. His zeal exposed him to various perils, from which he was rescued by the good offices of his illustrious friend, the Queen of Navarre. With the intention of digesting and elucidating the principles of the friends of the Reformation, he published his *Christian Institutions,* to which he prefixed that famous dedication to Francis I. the object of which was to soften the rigour of that prince against his protestant subjects.

Charles V. having arrived at Augsburg on the 15th of June 1530, the diet was opened with great solemnity on the 20th day of the same month. On the 25th of June, Christian Bayer, Chancellor of Saxony, read, in presence of the emperor and the princes assembled, the celebrated confession which has since been distinguished by the denomination of the *Augsburg Confession.* The creatures of the Roman pontiff who were present, employed John Faber, afterwards Bishop of Vienna, to compose a refutation of the confession. The arguments employed by Faber were soon refuted in the most satisfactory manner by Melanchton, who afterwards extended his answer, and in the year 1531, published it under the title of *A Defence of the Confession of Augsburg.*

A severe decree being issued out against the protestants on the 19th day of November, by the express order of the emperor; the Elector of Saxony and the confederate princes formed an alliance at Smalcald, for the purpose of defending themselves vigorously against the encroachments of Rome. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of England, France, and Denmark, with several other states and republics.

Two remarkable events which occurred at this period, produced respectively the most important results, with reference to the Reformation. In the year 1533, a certain number of anabaptists settled at Munster, a city in Westphalia, where, under the pretext of being invested with a divine commission, they attempted to lay the foundations of a new government, or a holy and spiritual empire. Having succeeded in overturning all the political institutions in Munster, they proceeded to erect a new republic, the administration of which they committed to John Bockholt, a taylor, and a native of Leyden. —Their triumph, like that of the wicked in general, was short, for in the year 1535, the city was besieged and taken by the Bishop of Munster; when this fanatical king, and his associates, were put to death in the most ignominious manner. While it is impossible to contemplate the conduct of these fanatics, without feeling the glow of indignation; it is important to guard against a disposition to transfer our disgust to those who are distinguished by the same denomination in the present day. Justice, however, requires us to confess, that they are as far removed from every thing offensive in the conduct of the fanatics of Munster, as they are agreed with them on the article of baptism. It would indeed be equally just to reproach the present Americans, on the ground of the character and circumstances of their remote ancestors.

The cause of the Reformation received upon the whole, a considerable accession of strength from the ambiguous support of Henry VIII. King of England, who was the principal agent in delivering his dominions from papal jurisdiction. Professing to entertain some scruples on the subject of his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, aunt to Charles V. and being really enamoured of an illustrious virgin whose name was Anna Boleyn, he earnestly sought a divorce from the former, in order to render legitimate his passion for the latter. With this view he applied to Clement VII. alledging conscientious scruples as the ground of his wish to obtain a divorce. Clement, perplexed between the fear of offending the emperor by conforming to Henry's wishes, and the dread of incurring that monarch's displeasure by refusing to comply with them, had recourse to procrastinating evasions, as the only method of conduct which he could pursue with safety. Tired with the tardy measures of the Roman pontiff, Henry had recourse to a measure suggested by the famous Thomas Cranmer, a secret friend of Luther and his cause, who was afterwards raised to the see of Canterbury. The advice of Cranmer, was to demand the opinions of the most learned universities in Europe, on the subject of Henry's scruples. The greatest part of the universities declared the marriage with a a brother's widow unlawful. Catharine was divorced, and Anna conducted to the royal bed. Henry, renouncing the jurisdiction of the court of Rome, was declared by the parliament and people *supreme head, on earth, of the church* *of England;* and the power and authority of the pope were completely overturned. It deserves, however, to be carefully considered, that while Henry withdrew himself from the tyranny of Rome, he considered the title of *Head of the English church,* as vesting virtually in himself the enormous power which had been previously exercised by the Roman pontiffs. Hence, during the reign of this despot, the face of religion was ever changing, in conformity to the caprice of its new chief. The influence of Cranmer, the favourite of Henry, served, however, to counteract the vehemence of this inconstant monarch, and to dispel the mists of ignorance.

On the death of Henry, which took place in the year 1547, he was succeeded by Edward VI. a prince of elevated genius and exemplary piety. Deeply interested in the prosperity of the Reformation, he addressed a particular invitation to Martin Bucer, and to Paul Fagius, that, under the auspices of their learning and piety, his subjects might be confirmed in the pure truths of christianity. His reign was, however, too short to accomplish his generous purposes. In the year 1553, he was removed from his affectionate subjects, and succeeded by his sister Mary, a furious abettor of the papacy. Among other victims, the learned and pious

Cranmer was sacrificed to her cruelty. A stop was, however, put to these dreadful cruelties by her death, in the year 1558; and being succeeded by Elizabeth, the protestant cause revived and flourished. During her reign, that form of religious doctrine, and ecclesiastical discipline which still subsists in England, was established as the national religion.

In Scotland the seeds of the Reformation were early sown by several noblemen of that nation, who had resided in Germany during Luther's disputes with the court of Rome. But the most distinguished opposer of the papal jurisdiction, was John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, whose talents and fortitude qualified him eminently for the labours and dangers of a reformer. This determined character quitted Geneva for Scotland, in the year 1559, and by means of preaching and private exhortations, imbued the minds of his countrymen with so entire a disgust for the superstitions of Rome, as to induce them to aim at nothing less than the extirpation of popery in all its forms. The form of worship and discipline which had been established at Geneva, by the ministry of Calvin, was universally adopted, and continues to the present day, notwithstanding many efforts to introduce into that kingdom the episcopal hierarchy of the church of England.

In Ireland the cause of the Reformation was greatly promoted by George Brown, a native of England, and a monk of the Augustin order, who was created Archbishop of Dublin, in the year 1535. Encouraged by the conduct of Henry VIII. he purged the churches of his diocese from various superstitions, and by his influence, caused the king's supremacy to be acknowledged in that nation.

In the Belgic provinces the yoke of Rome was shaken off with an impetuosity that was perhaps rather excessive. To the heroic conduct of William of Nassau, seconded by the exertions of England and France, this state owed its deliverance from the Spanish yoke.

The eyes of several persons in Spain were opened to the truth, not merely by the controversies between Luther and the court of Rome; but by means also of those very divines who had been selected by Charles V. to combat the sentiments of the reformers. These Spanish doctors instead of refuting, having imbibed the opinions of Luther, propagated them on their return home.

The spirit and conduct of the reformers having been censured by an elegant historian, as tinctured with enthusiasm; the judicious translator of Mosheim has been at the pains to repel the accusation in an appendix, in which he triumphantly proves that the reformers possessed precisely that spirit which was necessary to the successful prosecution of their object; while it was at the same time at the farthest possible remove from enthusiasm. Having instanced in the person of several of the reformers the truth of his assertion, he concludes by a description of the manner in which Calvin promoted the noble cause which he had espoused.

"As to Calvin, every one," observes this writer, "who has any acquaintance with history, knows how he set out in promoting the Reformation. It was by a work composed with a classic elegance of style, and which, though tinctured with the scholastic theology of the times, breathes an uncommon spirit of good sense and moderation. This work was the *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* in which the learned writer shews, that the doctrine of the reformers was founded in scripture and reason. Nay, one of the designs of this book was to shew, that the reformers ought not to be confounded with certain *fanatics,* who, about the time of the Reformation, sprung from the bosom of the church of Rome, and excited tumults and commotions in several places. The

French monarch, Francis I. to cover with a specious pretext his barbarous persecution of the friends of the Reformation, and to prevent the resentment of the protestants in Germany, with whom it was his interest to be on good terms, alledged, that his severity fell *only* upon a sect of enthusiasts, who, under the title of *anabaptists,* substituted their visions in the place of the doctrines and declarations of the holy scriptures. To vindicate the reformers from this reproach, Calvin wrote the book now under consideration; and though the theology that reigns in it be chargeable with some defects, yet it is as remote from the spirit and complexion of fanaticism, as any thing can be. Nor indeed is this spirit visible in any of the writings of Calvin that I have perused. His Commentary upon the Old and New Testament, is a production that will always be esteemed, on account of its elegant simplicity, and the evident marks it bears of an unprejudiced and impartial enquiry into the plain sense of the sacred writings, and of sagacity and penetration in the investigation of it."

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF CALVIN.

SECTION I.

Birth and Education of Calvin.—His application to the study of the law—Reasons for quitting that profession—Publication of his Institutes—Journey to Italy.

JOHN CALVIN,* the celebrated reformer, was born at Noyon, a town in Picardy, on the 10th of July 1509. Undistinguished by the splendor of family consideration, it was reserved for him to give dignity and perpetuity to a name, which had hitherto occupied an humble but respectable rank in society. His father, whose name was Gerard, a sensible and prudent man, had gained the esteem and friendship of all the neighbouring gentlemen, and particularly of the family of Montmor, a family of the first distinction in Picardy. John Calvin was brought up with the children of this family, and though his education was very expensive to Gerard, he bore it with great cheerfulness. He even wished his son to accompany them to Paris, and to pursue his studies with them under Marturin Cordier, regent of the Collége de la Marche; a man illustrious for his erudition and integrity, and as his talents were particularly adapted to the instruction of youth, he spent his life in tuition at Nevers, at Bourdeaux, at Neuf Chatel, at Lausanne, and at Geneva, where he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and in the same year as Calvin.

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* The circumstance of a trifling alteration in the name of our reformer, which it appears was Cauvin, having been maliciously perverted by some of his enemies, we shall present our readers with a justification of it in the words of the celebrated Mr. Drelincourt. "In reality," saith he, "the change of a letter in Calvin's name is very inconsiderable, or rather, signifies nothing at all, for being to turn Cauvin into Latin, if one would give it an air and termination suitable to the genius of the language, how can one turn it otherwise than by Calvinus; for as all good authors call that in Latin, Calvus,

On quitting the Collége de la Marche, Calvin removed to that of Montaign, the tutor of which was a learned Spaniard. Here he advanced so

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which the Picards call Cauve, and the Frenchmen Chauve, so instead of Cauvin in Picard, and Chauvin in French, the Latin must have it Calvinus. Now this godly man's first work being written in Latin and he thereby known by the name of Calvinus, if, after that when he wrote in French, he had used any other name than that of Calvin, the work might have been taken for another man's, to the no small damage of the reader and printer."

Defense de Calvin par Drelincourt, p. 202, rapidly in his studies, that he soon entered upon philosophy. But as he had from his youth discovered considerable piety, and an extreme horror at vice, frequently censuring the excesses of his companions, Gerard thought that he should be following the inclinations of his son in consecrating him to theology. He therefore procured for him, in the year 1529, a benefice in the cathedral church at Noyon, and the rectory of Pont L'Eveque, where he was born. Here Calvin, though unordained, preached frequently. It is probable that in this instance the father complied with his son's inclination in opposition to his own wishes, as we find him so soon after changing his conduct with respect to his future destination.

How mysterious are the ways of Providence! How little probable did it appear from Calvin's present situation and prospects (a member and a minister of the church of Rome), that he should be an instrument appointed to overthrow that pile of corruptions! Two reasons, however, concurred in influencing our reformer's future character and conduct; they were dissimilar indeed in their nature, but tended equally to one point, that of inducing him to quit his ministry in the church of Rome. His father resolved to make him study the law, convinced that it was the most certain method of acquiring riches and honour. Calvin having been instructed in the true religion by one of his relations, named Pierre Robert Olivetan,* and having carefully perused the scriptures, began to be disgusted with the doctrines of the church of Rome, and resolved to renounce her communion. Thus, either to comply with his father's wishes, or his own inclinations, he quitted the study of theology, for that of the law, and removed to Orleans, where he made such progress in that science under Pierre de l'Etoile,† the most celebrated of all the French civilians, that he was considered rather a master than a scholar. In the absence of the professors, he frequently supplied their place, and acquired so much esteem in the university, that they offered to present him with a doctor's degree.

This period of the life of Calvin, illustrates strikingly the importance of early habits of application, as laying the foundation for future eminence and usefulness. Without entering upon the unprofitable question whether originality of mind be intuitive or acquired, it will certainly be more useful to remember, that all the illustrious instances of superior powers, have been as remarkable for early industry and extensive acquirements, as they were eminent for distinguished rank in the literary world. Milton, Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, Boyle, Bacon, Addison, and Johnson, are characters highly illustrative of this remark. What they would have been, independently of their severe application and rich acquirements, we are not capable of conceiving; but that they would have occupied a much lower station in the republic of letters is absolutely certain. The importance of literature to the cause of christianity is, perhaps, greater than some of its sincerest friends are willing to admit.* It is true, indeed, that in the first promulgation of the gospel, it triumphed gloriously over the learning and the prejudices of its opposers, but it will be allowed that it was then accompanied with influences which have since been withdrawn; and that in many subsequent periods, it has been illustrated and enforced by the genius and eloquence of many of its abettors. Nor is learning less indebted to pure christianity: this might easily be shewn by a comparative view of its state before and after the Reformation, upon which the learning and piety of Calvin had evidently so happy and decided an influence.

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* Author of a French translation of the Bible, printed at Neuf Chatel.

† Pierre de l'Etoile was afterwards president of the parliament of Paris.

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* "All persons in every age and nation competent to read the best classics with facility and intelligence, have unanimously considered an acquaintance with them as highly conducive, if not absolutely necessary to the formation of a just taste and habit in composition, to the complete knowledge of the human character, to the most advantageous study of the holy scriptures, and to the due appreciation of the glorious gospel. The apostate emperor, that bitter and subtle enemy of our faith, calculated judiciously on the tendency of his machinations, when he forbade the Christians to teach in their schools, the heathen poets, moralists and historians. It would be well if all modern friends of the Gospel, were as perspicacious as Julian was, in discerning the connection of ancient learning and the great cause of revealed truth."

Vide Eclectic Review for March 1807.

In the midst of his various employments, our reformer was a diligent student of the holy scriptures, and obtained so clear an insight into their meaning, that many persons whom God had inspired with a desire to be instructed in the true religion, applied to him for information, and were equally impressed with his zeal and his knowledge. He was at this time so diligent a student, that after having supped lightly, he continued reading until midnight, and in the morning was employed while in bed, in reviewing what he had read the night before. There is no doubt but that these late studies contributed to his extensive erudition, and his remarkable memory; but they also materially injured his health, and brought on that weakness of stomach with which he was afflicted all his life, and which at length shortened his days.

André Alciat, one of the most celebrated civilians of his age, having rendered famous l'Academie de Bourges, Calvin wished to attend his lectures. During his residence there, he formed an intimate friendship with Melchior Wolmar, professor of Greek; a man of considerable merit, and an excellent tutor; who taught Calvin Greek, an obligation which he acknowledged, by dedicating to him his Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

With his laborious studies he associated an incessant perusal of the scriptures, and sometimes preached in a small town in Berri, named Lignéres, with the consent, and frequently before, the seigneur of that department.

His father dying while he was at Bourges, he was obliged to abandon the study of the law, and to return to Noyon. At Paris, which he visited shortly afterwards, he published his Commentary on Seneca's Book on Clemency, an author, the purity of whose sentiments were in perfect unison with the morals of Calvin; and whom he always read with pleasure. He was then only twenty-four years of age; but, notwithstanding his youth, he became soon known and esteemed by those who were devoted to true religion. Amongst the persons with whom he formed an acquaintance at this period, was a merchant, who was afterwards burned for his attachment to the gospel, named Estienne de la Forge, of whom he frequently spoke with commendation. Of this person he makes mention in his fourth chapter of the book which he wrote against the libertines.

During his residence at Paris, renouncing the pursuit of all other sciences, he consecrated himself to theology and to God; to the inexpressible satisfaction of the reformed, who secretly held their assemblies there.

No sooner had he formed this design, than an occasion offered for the display of his zeal. Nicolas Cop, rector of l'Academie de Paris,* having on a public occasion spoken freely against public errors in religion, and given offence to the parliament, was summoned to appear at court. On his journey he was informed that he would be imprisoned. He consequently returned immediately, and quitting the kingdom, retired to Basil.

Calvin, being an intimate friend of Cop, was obliged also to take flight. After his departure, Marin, the bailiff, one of the most cruel persecutors, went to his room in the College de Fortret, intending to take him prisoner; but not finding him, seized his papers and books, amongst which were found several letters from his friends, which exposed them to extreme danger; so great was their aversion to the Romish church. But the Queen of Navarre, a princess of uncommon merit, having sent for Calvin, treated him with great respect, listened to him with pleasure, and made use of her influence with the king, Francis I. her brother, to appease the tempest which had arisen against the reformed.

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* Son of William Cop, physician to the king, born at Basil.

What an apparent ignorance of the genius of christianity and of human nature, have persecutors invariably discovered! Taking our estimate of christianity from their exhibition of it, we should be ready to suppose that its predominant quality was hatred, and its ultimate object, extermination. How ignorant of human nature must they be, who are not instructed in this most obvious truth, that, opposition only strengthens opinions, and confirms prejudices; that it is equally incapable of subduing truth, and of suppressing error.

Having quitted Paris, Calvin retired to Xaintonge, where, at the request of a friend, he composed some formularies of sermons and christian exhortations, which he induced the rectors to use as homilies, in order to excite the people to pursue their enquiries into the truth. About this time he took a journey to Nerac, to visit Jacques Le Fevre d'Estaples, who had been tutor to the children of Francis I. and who, to avoid the persecutions of the Sorbonne, had retired to that town under the protection of the Queen of Navarre. The good old man rejoiced to see him, and predicted that Calvin would one day be a powerful instrument of establishing the true religion in France.

He did not, however, remain long at Nerac, but went from thence to Paris. Yet, as he had many enemies there, who had meditated his destruction, he was obliged to remain concealed. The providence of God appears, however, to have conducted him to Paris at this time. For Michael Servetus began about this period to broach his blasphemies against the Holy Trinity; and as he appeared to desire an interview with Calvin, the latter attended at the time and place appointed, though at the risk of life. But he waited for him in vain; Servetus had not sufficient courage to meet him.

The following year was disgraced by many cruelties inflicted upon several pious characters. Gerard Rufi, docteur de Sorbonne, and Coraud, a monk of the order of St. Austin, who, under the patronage of the Queen of Navarre, had many years laboured with considerable success to establish the knowledge of the truth in Paris, were torn from their pulpits, and dragged to prison. The king, Francis I. being influenced by the catholics, was so highly incensed by some writings which had been published against the Mass, and which had even been posted up on the door of the Louvre, that after a procession and public prayers, at which he assisted with his three sons, bareheaded, carrying a torch in his hand, in expiation of this crime; he commanded, that in the middle of the four most frequented parts of the city, eight of the reformed should be burned alive; and swore that he would not spare his own children, should they be infected with that execrable heresy.

What a disgusting picture of bigotry, and fanaticism are we here presented with! and how strikingly does it prove the folly of so identifying a national religion with christianity, as to make a separation from its pale, the test of heresy! In this view, how much more detestable is the papal, than the pagan persecution! With respect to the *pagan religion,* the first christians were innovators, as it regarded the very substance and essence of their mythology and worship. They not only declared their worship as superstitious; but denounced their belief as absurd, and their morality as corrupt. The protestants, on the other hand, innovated chiefly in the circumstantials of religion. For though no intelligent protestant will allow the church of Rome to be a true church of Christ, every candid protestant will admit that in her fundamental articles she recognizes the distinguishing doctrines of christianity. The plain language of the papal persecution, therefore, holds out the absurd idea, that it is more important to be agreed in the circumstantials than in the fundamentals of religion; and that uniformity of opinion is more important when it respects the drapery of her disciples, than their character.

Considering the deplorable state to which his brethren were reduced, Calvin, after having printed at Orleans, an excellent work, entitled La Psychopannychie, which he composed against those who believed that the souls of the just, separated from their bodies, sleep until the resurrection; he resolved to quit the kingdom.

Accompanied by the young man with whom he resided at Xaintonge, he proceeded to Basil by the way of Lorraine. Near Metz, a serious calamity befel him. Being plundered by a servant who fled with one of the horses, he must have been reduced to considerable difficulty, had not the other servant providentially had ten crowns, which defrayed their expences to Strasbourg, from whence they proceeded comfortably to Basil. There he formed a close friendship with Simon Grinée, and with Walfang Capito, and applied himself to the study of the Hebrew language.

Though he wished at this time to remain in obscurity, as appears by a letter written to him by Bucer, he was, notwithstanding, constrained to publish his Christian Institutes, to serve as an apology for his persecuted brethren. For as Francis I. was desirous of the friendship of the protestant princes of Germany, and knew that they would disapprove of the murder of his protestant subjects, he affirmed that he had only put to death the anabaptists, who, far from making the word of God the rule of their faith, gave themselves up to their disordered imaginations, professing a contempt for magistrates, and sovereign authorities.

Calvin, who could not bear to see the true religion thus calumniated, thought it necessary to publish his Institutes, which he dedicated to Francis I. addressing him in such an admirable manner, that, if that prince could have been persuaded to peruse it, the church of Rome might then have received a mortal wound. For the king differed in many respects from those who succeeded him; his taste and his judgment were exquisite; he loved learning and literary men; nor did his inclination lead him to hate persons of the reformed religion.

Whilst Calvin was finishing this work, he learned that Italy cherished in many places ideas favourable to the reformation; he therefore flew to the celebrated Duchess de Ferrare, the daughter of Lewis XII. whose genius and accomplishments made her known to all the learned, and towards whom the wisest of the reformers turned with attention, because her sentiments were not very remote from theirs. This princess, who was acquainted with Calvin's merit, received him with distinction, and Calvin confirmed her in her principles. She conceived also for him an esteem which she retained through life, and expressed to him in a great variety of letters. Notwithstanding this protection, the Inquisition, aroused by the name of Calvin, pursued him to the court of the duchess, and obliged him to fly. It was no doubt at this time, that he arrived at the town of Piedmont in which he at first preached the reformation with success, but from whence he was afterwards driven by intolerance. This fact is attested by a pillar, of eight feet in height, still existing, erected to immortalize the arrival of Calvin at Aost, and his banishment from thence. *Hanc Calvini fuga erexit anno* MDXLI. *Religionis constantia reparavit anno* MDCCXLI. This monument appears to have been erected in 1541, but the event which it celebrates took place towards the end of 1535, or the beginning of 1536.*

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* Histoire Litteraire de Geneve, par J. Senebier.

SECTION II.

Calvin's settlement at Geneva—His banishment —Return to Geneva—Labours—Acquaintance and public dispute with Castallio—Letter to Luther—Is accused of teaching false doctrine—Procures the release of Ami Perrin—Confutes Bolzec publicly.

On quitting Italy, Calvin returned to France, with Anthony, his only remaining brother; but on account of the persecutions which then ran high, he soon resolved to return to Basil or Strasbourg. But the direct road being then impassable on account of the war, he was compelled to go through Geneva. He had then no intention of stopping there, but the event soon made it evident that he had been conducted thither by a secret determination of Providence. This was in the month of August 1536. The reformed religion had been wonderfully established there by Guillaume Farel, and Pierre Viret. Farel had been instructed, not in a convent as some have supposed, but in the school of Jacques Le Fevre d'Estaples. Calvin, not willing to pass through Geneva without paying his respects to them, made them a visit, on which occasion Farel earnestly entreated him to stop at Geneva, and help him in the labour to which God had called him. But perceiving that Calvin was not to be prevailed upon, he said, "You have not any other pretext to refuse me, than the attachment which you profess for your studies; but I warn you in the name of Almighty God, that if you do not share with me the holy work in which I am engaged, he will not bless your designs, since you prefer your repose to Jesus Christ." Calvin, subdued by this appeal, submitted to the wish of the seigneurs, and of the Consistory of Geneva, by whose suffrages and the consent of the people, he was received to the charge of the ministry, in the month of August 1536.

This year was remarkable for a close alliance contracted between Berne and Geneva; and for the establishment of religion in Lausanne, after a conference between the protestants and the catholics, at which Calvin presided. He was also engaged in a defence of the reformed, who were attacked by the anabaptists, against whom he employed scripture and argument with so much success, that he expelled that sect entirely from Geneva. In the same year he was obliged to plead his cause at Berne, against Caroly, who had accused him of Arianism.

Geneva was at this time very far from being in a state of tranquillity. The true religion was indeed established, and the faith of the church of Rome was abolished. But many atrocious crimes were still committed, which had long reigned, and which the example of the clergy had contributed to maintain. The principal families were at variance, on the ground of dissentions which had originated during the war of Savoy, and which time had not been able to extinguish. Farel and Calvin, deeply afflicted by these disorders, made a representation to the council, to induce them to attempt the correction of the public morals. They preached with energy against the vices of the times: as truth always appears severe to those who are conscious of being guilty, the warmth of their zeal was complained of, Coraut was forbidden to preach, and being disobedient to the injunction, was imprisoned. Farel and Calvin were hated by those who preferred their vices and their pleasures to good order, to the advancement of religion, and to the good of their country; they therefore united their efforts to get rid of those vigilant ministers.

But besides these divisions, there was another evil which afflicted the church of Geneva. In some regulations respecting ecclesiastical discipline, she was not perfectly agreed with the church of Berne. For the Genevese celebrated the Lord's Supper with leavened bread, and judging that the baptismal fonts were not necessary to the administration of baptism, they had removed them from their places of worship. They had also abolished all the feasts, except Sunday. The church of Geneva having been required, at a synod held at Lausanne, to re-establish the use of the baptismal fonts and the feasts which she had abolished, and the ministers of Geneva wishing to be heard before they were condemned, it was resolved that all these differences should be settled in a synod to be held at Zurich.

The syndics, who were at the head of the seditious, profiting by these divisions, assembled the people, when, the majority being under their influence, they procured an order from the council, by which these three faithful ministers were commanded to leave the town in three days. This order being communicated to Calvin, "Certainly," said he, "if I had served men, I should have been ill recompensed; but, I have served a Master who, far from not rewarding his servants, pays them what he does not owe them."

Farel retired to Neufchatel, and Calvin to Strasbourg, where Bucer, Capito, and Hedio engaged the council of that town to appoint him professor of theology, and pastor of a French church, into which he introduced his ecclesiastical discipline.

Not long after this unjust banishment, Calvin extinguished a greater evil, which would probably have been attended with the worst consequences, had not this illustrious exile applied a prompt remedy to it. Jacques Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, was a man of considerable eloquence, which he employed only to oppose the truth. His morals being regular, the pope made him a cardinal, with a view to give a currency to the false doctrine taught in his church. The cardinal, seeing that the people of Geneva were deprived of such excellent pastors, thought this a favourable opportunity to attract them to the Romish religion, with which view he wrote a long letter wherein he employed all his address and talents to overthrow the reformed religion, and to establish his own. There was at this time no person in the town capable of answering him, and if this letter had been written in French, it is probable that it would have created considerable disturbances amongst a people so much divided and so ill disposed as they were at this time. But Calvin, forgetting all the injuries which he had sustained, evinced that the love which he had professed for that church was not diminished; and answered the cardinal with so much eloquence and spirit, that he abandoned his project entirely.

This was not, however, the first expression of tenderness which Calvin had shewn for the Genevese; for he discovered the interest which he took in all their afflictions, by addressing to them several letters from Strasbourg, wherein he exhorted them to repentance, to peace, charity, and the love of God; teaching them to hope that a bright light would soon dissipate the fatal darkness in which they were enveloped. The event justified the prediction. At this time he republished his Christian Institutes, with many additions, and dedicated them to his intimate friend Simon Grinée; he published also a piece on the Lord's Supper, highly admired by the wisest and the best of men.

He was also useful in reclaiming many anabaptists who were brought to him from various parts, and amongst others Paul Volse,* who died a minister of Strasbourg, and Jean Storder

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* It was this person to whom Erasmus dedicated his book of the Christian Soldier.

Liegeois, whose widow, Calvin afterwards married, by the advice of Bucer; she was a person of extraordinary merit.

Such were the occupations of Calvin, until the year 1541, when the Emperor Charles V. convoked a diet at Worms, and afterwards at Ratisbonne, to settle the differences which had arisen in Germany. Calvin, by desire of the ministers of Strasbourg, assisted at the diet, in which he proved useful to the churches, and particularly to those of France, and highly pleased Philip Melancthon, who always spoke with applause of Calvin, calling him *the Theologian*. He also acquired the esteem of Gaspar Cruciger, minister of Wittemberg, who wished to confer with him in private, and having learned his opinion on the Lord's Supper, declared his entire approbation of it.

The faction which had procured the banishment of Calvin being overthrown, the Genevese were anxious to recall him. In the year 1540, they wrote to him at Strasbourg, to offer him the employment of which they had deprived him, but he replied that he could not now dispose of himself, that he belonged to Strasbourg, and that he wished to be replaced at Geneva by Viret. The council then sent Ami Perrin, one of the elder syndics, to Strasbourg, to entreat the magistrates to restore Calvin to Geneva; being supported by the cantons of Zurich, of Berne, and of Basil, they complied with his request. Calvin was then gone to Worms and to Ratisbonne, whither he had been sent by the German reformers, to assist at the assemblies held there, relative to religion, where he learned what was taking place at Geneva; but he still resisted the offers which they made him. At length, solicited afresh by the council and the ministers of that town, encouraged by Bucer, informed that the council had revoked his banishment, on the 1st of May 1541, and longing to be useful to his enemies, he tore himself from his church at Strasbourg, (who gave him leave of absence for two years,) left Ratisbonne, and set out for Geneva.

Upon his arrival he was congratulated by the acclamations of the people; he then presented to the council, the letters of the magistrates of Strasbourg. The Genevese, charmed at repossessing him, wrote to Strasbourg to obtain his final release. Strasbourg at length relinquished Calvin to the reiterated entreaties of Geneva; bestowing upon him his citizenship, and wishing to continue to him the emoluments he had received, which, however, he refused, though he went to a very diminished income at Geneva.

Firm to his principles, because he thought them the basis of the public weal, he applied himself immediately upon his return to Geneva, to prevent the corruption of morals, and projected an ecclesiastical police, which he submitted to the council. He revised the ecclesiastical ordinances with some magistrates, who were appointed to assist him. These laws were presented to the general council, who sanctioned them on the 20th of November 1541. It was evident how far Calvin was from wishing to give too much power to the ecclesiastical body, so well was the ecclesiastical authority balanced by the civil. This tribunal of morals, called the Consistory, was originally composed of laics, and ecclesiastics, but, the number of the former was then most considerable. This body, respectable for the importance and delicacy of its constitution, had no power to inflict corporal punishments; but merely to refer the more important cases to the council, with its own judgment on the evidence. The prosperity of Geneva long remained the happy fruit of these wise laws, which contributed powerfully to maintain the purity of the ancient morals. They contributed greatly to the lustre and preservation of the republic; and it might easily be proved, that one of the causes of the misfortunes of Geneva was the diminution of the influence of those laws upon individuals. Rome was lost when the voices of the censors could no longer be heard; and Sparta fell with the credit of those who were charged with the care of watching over the public morals, and of making virtue respected.

Shortly after his return he composed a catechism in Latin and in French, divided into questions and answers. This work, which proved highly useful to the church, was so well received by different nations, that it was not only translated into many living languages, such as the German, the English, the Scotch, the Flemish, the Spanish, and the Italian, but also into Hebrew and into Greek.*

Notwithstanding the relief which Calvin continually received from Farel and from Viret, it is not easy to conceive how he sustained his various labours; especially if we consider that he was the subject of several violent and continual disorders. During a fortnight in each month, he preached every day; gave three lectures in theology every week; assisted at all the deliberations of the Consistory, and at the meetings of the pastors; met the congregation every Friday; instructed the French churches by the frequent advices which they solicited from him; defended the reformation against the attacks of its enemies, and particularly those of the French priests; was forced to repel his numerous antagonists, by various books which he composed for that purpose; and found time to publish several other works, which, by their solidity and depth, are calculated for the instruction of every age.

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* It was translated into Hebrew by Emmanuel Tremellius, and into Greek by Henrie Etienne.

But these occupations formed only a part of the labours of this great man: the council charged him with many painful and difficult commissions, and he was obliged to undertake long and frequent voyages. The council, who knew that he was an excellent civilian, as well as theologian, consulted him habitually in all important concerns. He was particularly employed in framing the edicts and legislative acts of the town, which were completed and approved in the year 1543: by his reputation and his eloquence he prevented the usual troubles of a rising government; and inspired confidence amongst the different bodies of the state: they knew the extent of his talents; they respected his integrity, and reposed confidently in the inviolable attachment which he ever manifested for justice and truth.

Whilst Calvin was concluding this labour of legislation he repaired to Strasbourg, to defend religion against Caroly; but could not obtain permission to dispute publicly against that eccentric man, who had retired thither.

In the year 1543, he presented the church of Geneva with a liturgy; together with directions as to the manner of celebrating the Lord's supper, and baptism.

At this time Charles V. appeared anxious for a general council, in which affairs relating to the catholic and reformed religions might be discussed; but this plan far from pleasing the pope, excited his warmest indignation. Nor was it indeed likely that his holiness should be so unconversant with the interests of a splendid and secular hierarchy, as not to know that its most formidable enemy was a spirit of free enquiry and ample discussion; following, therefore, his apparent interest, he preferred the convenient asylum of infallibility. Paul III. was not, however, ashamed to publish his sentiments on this plan; but Calvin abundantly repelled the arguments of the pontiff, at the diet assembled at Spire. In another work which appeared at this time, he proved the necessity of a reform of the church.

A great name is a signal for calumny to the envious; they unite in order to destroy it. It is true that Calvin often made himself enemies by saying cutting truths; his zeal exasperated him against those who either attacked truth or wounded virtue: perhaps a consciousness of superiority rendered him severe upon those who disturbed him by ill-founded attacks, or unreasonable obstinacy.

Calvin became acquainted with Castallio in the year 1539, at Strasbourg. In a translation of the Bible into Latin, he had attempted to make the ancient Hebrew writers speak in the language of Cicero, and even endeavoured to make them sometimes breathe the tender verses of Ovid; this version Calvin highly blamed, as well as several sentiments which it contained. Castallio, whose pride was wounded, asked permission of the council to dispute publicly with Calvin on the descent of Jesus Christ into hell, which they refused; but, from a love of truth, and a respect for liberty of thinking, he was allowed to commence that dispute before the assembly of ministers; it lasted a long while without any success. Castallio at length became so highly irritated, that he attacked Calvin in a sermon; and so grossly insulted the ministers of Geneva, that the council deposed him from the ministry. Castallio retired to Basil, where he persisted in his singularities, and in his hatred of Calvin, until the time of his death, The Sorbonne finding themselves supported by P. Liset, first president of the parliament of Paris, whose memory is execrated by all good characters, undertook to draw up some articles of faith; and though it was not difficult to detect the falsity of the dogmas which they contained, they were, notwithstanding, approved by the timid and the ignorant. This induced Calvin to publish a piece, in which mingling the subtlety of raillery, with the solidity of reasoning, he clearly displayed the errors of the Sorbonne.

Amongst other enemies by whom the church was attacked, was Albert Pighius, whom Calvin withstood and refuted, notwithstanding his numerous avocations. Pighius being a profound sophist, thought, that though Calvin was a formidable adversary, it would not be difficult to vanquish him; and that he could thus signalize himself, and obtain a cardinal's hat, as the price of his victory. But Calvin repelled the attacks of Pighius with so much vigour, that he found himself disappointed of the recompense which he had anticipated, and reaped from his temerity only shame and confusion. Melancthon, to whom Calvin dedicated his work, to testify the esteem in which he held it, wrote several letters which were afterwards published, and which may serve to undeceive posterity with respect to the calumnies which have been thrown upon those illustrious men. A letter which Calvin wrote to the church of Montbelliard is a sufficient answer to those who accuse him of severity in the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline.

To refute the errors of the Anabaptists, and of the libertines, who had revived the most detestable heresies of antiquity, he composed a work which it is impossible to read with attention without being shocked at their detestable doctrines. This work, however, displeased the Queen of Navarre; for though she was not infected with their errors, she was so fully persuaded of the merit of Quintin, and of Pocquet, the most famous leaders of that sect, whom Calvin had named in that work, and had so great a regard for them, that it was impossible to attack them without deeply wounding her.

Calvin having learned that she supported those sectaries, wrote to her with such address and prudence, that, preserving the respect which was due to her, as well on account of her dignity, as of several kindnesses which she had bestowed upon the church; he addressed her with a boldness and freedom worthy a courageous servant of God; and represented to her the impropriety of defending such persons. Thus he maintained the dignity of his ministry, and his labours were so successful, that *that* execrable sect which had begun to spread in France, was confined to Holland and the neighbouring countries.

During this year, the plague made the greatest ravages in Geneva. Affected by the afflictions of his fellow citizens, and alarmed at the corrupt state of morals, which made him apprehensive of still more fearful evils, Calvin thundered from the pulpit against their vices: he also engaged the council to enact severer laws against fornication and adultery. In the midst of the distress which he felt at the view of this exterminating scourge, which was depriving Geneva of its citizens, he experienced some consolation from the succours which he procured for the Vaudois, who had escaped the massacres of Merindol, and of Chabriere; having obtained for them a sum of money from the town of Strasbourg, and from the German princes. It was not in his own power to give any thing himself, because he possessed nothing; but, as he never asked for himself, so he always conscientiously distributed the liberality of his benefactors to those who were unfortunate.

The controversy respecting the Supper of our Lord was at this time renewed; Osiander, a vain and proud man of an ardent spirit, having rekindled the fire of discord which seemed entirely extinguished, Calvin did all in his power to terminate this difference, and with this view wrote several letters. But Osiander refused to listen to the wise counsels of Calvin, and of Melancthon.

A Genevese of the name of Troillet, who, though young, was consummately artful, after having counterfeited the hermit in France, returned to Geneva. As Calvin was remarkable for his penetration into characters, he soon developed this man, notwithstanding the pains which he took to conceal his vices under false appearances. Calvin at first reproved him privately, with great mildness. But finding that his charitable counsels were useless to him, and that his audacity and his insolence encreased daily, he undertook to reprove him publicly. But this hypocrite, far from profiting by these reproofs, endeavoured to avail himself of the protection of those, whose vices Calvin was accustomed to condemn. One of the pastors having recently died, he had the effrontery to aim at succeeding him. Calvin opposed him, and having shewn the contrariety of such conduct to the word of God, he obtained, by permission of the council, the enforcement of the rules of the church.

There were also at this time certain persons who, having renounced the protestant faith through dread of persecution, flattered themselves that there was no harm in remaining in the external communion of the church of Rome, provided they embraced the true religion in their hearts. And because Calvin who condemned so pernicious a sentiment, was considered by them as carrying his severity to an extreme, he shewed clearly that his opinion was in unison, not only with those of the fathers of the church, but also with the doctrine of the most learned theologians of the age, such as Melancthon, Bucer, and Martyr, as well as the ministers of Zurich; and so completely extinguished that error, that all pious persons censured the Nicodemites; a name given to those who defended their dissimulation by the example of Nicodemus.

The introduction of the following letter in illustration of the solicitude of Calvin for the purity of the reformed worship, needs no apology. The justness of the sentiments, the perspicuity of the reasoning, and especially the veneration which it discovers for the illustrious character to whom it was addressed, must recommend it to the approbation of every intelligent protestant.

" To the truly excellent
" Doctor of the Christian Church,
" MARTIN LUTHER,
" My highly honoured Father in
" JESUS CHRIST.

" Finding those Frenchmen who had been restored from the darkness of popery to the light of the true doctrine made no alteration in their confession of faith; but that they continued to sully themselves with the profanations of the papists, as if they had no relish for the true doctrine; I could not refrain from reproving such extreme stupidity, with that vehemence and asperity which I believe they deserved. For can we call that faith, which, buried at the bottom of the soul, never discovers itself by any confession? Or ought we to call that religion which disguises itself under the mask of idolatry?—I do not here undertake a thorough discussion of the question: I have already explained myself sufficiently in two small works which I have composed on that topic. And if you will take the trouble to glance at them, you will better understand my opinion on that question, and upon what reasons it is founded. Some persons who previously slept in great security, buried in profound slumbers, being roused by the perusal of them, have begun to consider what they ought to do. But because it is very hard to the flesh, either to neglect its own interests, so far as to endanger life; or so to irritate the minds of others as to become the object of public hatred; or to abandon our property and our country, and thus to condemn ourselves to a voluntary banishment: it happens but too frequently that these difficulties prevent a constant and firm resolution. They allege also other reasons, which indeed appear plausible, but which, however, prove sufficiently, that their sole design is only to seek pretexts to conceal the irresolution which agitates their minds. They desire to have your judgment, for which they entertain a just veneration, and which will have great weight to deliver them from these uncertainties, and to confirm them in their duty. They have, therefore, entreated me to send you an express, which may bring back your conclusion on this subject. This office I could by no means refuse to their solicitation, both because I thought it important for them to be upheld by your authority, that they might not ever float in these uncertainties, and that I myself felt disposed to solicit this help. Thus, my highly honoured Father in the Lord, I conjure you by Jesus Christ, to bear with this importunity, both for their sakes and mine; and to read for your entertainment, in your leisure hours, the letter addressed to you in their name, and my two small books; or to employ somebody to read them, who shall report the principal particulars to you; and to take the trouble in the second place to explain to us in an answer of three words, your opinion on this subject. It is contrary to my inclination to divert you from those great and various affairs which occupy you, and to give you this trouble. But I am firmly persuaded that according to your uniform equity, seeing that necessity urges me to make this request, you will easily forgive the liberty I take, and the trouble which I give you. Would to God that I were permitted to fly hence, that I might enjoy, at least for a few hours, your conversation! I should receive much more pleasure, and it would be much more advantageous to confer with you personally on this, and on various other subjects. But I hope, that what may not be granted to us on earth, will soon be given to us in the kingdom of God. Adieu, most illustrious man! most excellent minister of Jesus Christ, and my highly honoured Father. I beseech the Lord to govern you by his Spirit unto the end, for the common good and edification of his church."

20th Jan. 1545.

Institution de la Religion Chrestienne. Traduit par Charles Icard. p. 145.

The vigour with which Calvin attacked the vicious and their vices, brought upon him a thousand inconveniences from those who exposed themselves to the effects of his zeal and vigilance. A woman whom he had reproved publicly, called him a *wicked man*. Calvin avenged himself by obtaining her pardon of the council, who had imprisoned, and intended to punish her.

The following year proved no less unfavourable to Calvin's repose. He was now obliged to cheer the drooping spirits of the Genevese, whom the designs of Charles V. against the reformed religion had alarmed. But, besides the cares which the fear of all these evils occasioned him, he was deeply afflicted at the state of Geneva; and the general and daring profligacy of its inhabitants.

At the head of these persons, was a man named Ami Perrin, who, by the suffrages of the people had been made capitaine general.

This man knowing that neither his accomplices nor himself could thrive whilst the laws were maintained with vigour, and Calvin thundered against their vices and their disorders, discovered this year what he had long projected; and because his pernicious designs were no sooner developed than they were crushed by the seigneurs, he remained some time quiet: but this was only with a view to a more public attack: for shortly afterwards one of the seigneurs, instigated, as it has been supposed, by two ministers who were given to wine, and who had good reasons to fear the severity of the laws, accused Calvin of teaching false doctrine. But, far from being injured by the malice of his enemies, he was fully justified from this calumny, his accuser being condemned as infamous, and the two ministers deposed.

While Calvin was called to contend against those whose love of independence, and whose violent passions removed them far from decency and virtue, which he wished to establish in Geneva, he triumphed over their cabal by his firmness and his courage; nor did he ever favour those whom rank and fortune seemed to authorize to follow their inclinations. He summoned the wife of a principal citizen before the Consistory for having blasphemed in a private house; she was condemned to a pecuniary punishment. Ami Perrin himself, whose life was very disorderly, was excommunicated, deprived of his place of counsellor, and condemned to two month's imprisonment; but, although this man had always encouraged the enemies of Calvin, and been the cause of all the troubles which he had experienced from the government, Calvin nevertherless employed his eloquence and his interest to procure the repeal of his sentence, and had the christian satisfaction to see his mortal enemy released from prison, and restored to his employment.

Germany was at this time reduced to the greatest extremity, her towns having either surrendered to the emperor, or been taken by force, she beheld the sudden ruin of a work, which had been the labour of many years. Happy, indeed, were they whom death had prevented from being spectators of that dreadful desolation. It is not to be doubted that these calamities deeply afflicted Calvin, since it is certain that when the churches enjoyed a profound peace, he took as great an interest in those that were most remote, as if they had been committed to his care. Besides which, it was impossible for him to learn that those illustrious characters, Melancthon, Bucer, and Martyr, his dearest friends, were exposed to the most imminent perils, without being penetrated with the profoundest grief. Great, however, as were his afflictions, he supported them with heroic courage, and though persecuted by the wicked, his constancy and his virtue remained unshaken.

In the year 1547, and on the 26th of July, Jacques Gruet was beheaded. Gruet was one of those men whom vice and public disorders rendered famous: impatient under the restraints of the laws, he had the audacity to affix against the pulpit of the cathedral, a libel against the reformed Genevese, and particularly the reformers and ministers. Being immediately apprehended, and his papers and letters examined, they were found to contain several violent passages against Calvin; as well as a petition which he wished to present to the General Council against the ecclesiastical discipline; the object of which was to suppress the bounds which it imposed upon those who led a vicious life. A paper was also found containing objections against the authority of the sacred books, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, and the last judgment. His sentence condemns him for having spoken with contempt of religion; for having maintained that laws, human and divine, were the work of caprice; for having written impious letters and licentious songs; for having maintained that fornication was not criminal when both parties consented; for having attempted to overthrow the ecclesiastical institutions, and the authority of the Consistory; for having threatened the reformers and the ministers; for having spoken disrespectfully of them, and particularly of Calvin; for having written letters calculated to irritate the court of France against Calvin, and to engage the King of France to write to the council against him; and finally for having threatened the council itself. The reasons of this condemnation, judging from the sentence itself, demonstrate that the death of Gruet was the effect of his impiety, and of his threats against the government.

During these troubles, Calvin composed a work entitled L'Antidote, against the doctrine contained in the first seven sections of the Council of Trent: and wrote also to the church of Rouen, to fortify her against the artifices and the errors of a certain monk of the order of St. Francis, who was endeavouring to infect that church with the heresy of Carpocrates.*

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* Carpocrates was a heretic of the second century, who flourished at Alexandria about the year 130. He revived the Gnostic heresy, to which he added the antinomian doctrine, that actions are indifferent, as the passions are planted in human nature by God himself. His son Epiphanius taught the same opinions.——*Mosheim.*

Undiverted by these foreign cares, he continued his ordinary occupations, and composed his excellent Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. As many persons entertained a high opinion of judicial astrology, he justly exposed it in an elegant work which he published on the subject. Having received an obliging letter from Brentius, who was exiled at Basil, he consoled him with much tenderness. And it were to be wished, that Brentius had ever preserved the sentiments which he expressed at that time, and had not broken the bonds which attached him to Calvin. He also wrote to Bucer, who was in England, and after exhorting him to avow more openly his opinion on the Supper of the Lord, he renewed the assurances of a sincere and ardent friendship. To the Duke of Somerset, Protector of England, he sent such useful and important advice, as, had it been followed, would have saved the British church from many calamities.

The church of Geneva, though surrounded by afflictions, increased rapidly, and Calvin received with every mark of tenderness, those who were banished from their country on account of their attachment to the gospel. God, likewise, so eminently blessed the labours of his servant, that the faction of the seditious was almost entirely subdued. He stood, indeed, in great need of this relief, for he now met with a severe trial in the loss of his wife; a person of singular virtue and merit. But though extremely affected by this affliction, he endured it with a constancy and resignation becoming his exalted character.

The churches of Saxony not being united respecting the nature and use of indifferent things, consulted Calvin, who frankly gave his opinion on the subject; and as Melancthon was accused (though unjustly) of too much indifference on this subject, he wrote to him respecting it.

While God was on the one hand chastising the German churches with the scourge of discord, he manifested his compassion to the churches of Switzerland; for Calvin and Farel having made a visit to Zurich, composed all the differences which had arisen among them on the subject of the sacraments. Articles were agreed upon by the consent of the churches of Switzerland, and those of the Grisons; and this agreement united the church of Zurich and that of Geneva in the closest bonds.

About this time Calvin wrote two letters, replete with profound erudition, to Lœlius

Socinus; who died at Zurich, after a long residence there.*

The year 1550 was remarkable for the tranquillity which the churches enjoyed, and the regulations which were made at Geneva. For the Consistory came to a resolution, that the ministers should not confine their instructions to public preaching, but that at certain seasons of the year, they should visit private families, accompanied by an elder, to explain the christian doctrines, and induce individuals to give an account of their faith. These private visits were so useful to the church, that it is not easy to calculate the fruit which they produced.

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* "Lœlius Socinus was born at Sienna, in 1525, and designed by his father for the profession of the law, but having embraced the principles of the reformation, he deemed it expedient to quit Italy in 1547. After passing through several countries, he settled at Zurich; where he was suspected of Arianism, and received a remonstrance from Calvin on the subject. Socinus profited by the hint, but more by the fate of Servetus, and retired to Poland; from thence he went to Venice, and afterwards returned to Zurich, where he died in 1562. He was the author of the sect of Socinians, having gathered many followers who embraced his opinions, which were, that Christ was only a man, that the Holy Spirit is nothing more than an attribute, and that the doctrines of original sin, atonement, and divine grace, have no foundation in scripture."——*Bayle.*

The Consistory gave directions also, that the celebration of the birth of Christ should be deferred until a few days after Christmas; and that no days should be observed but Sunday. And because these changes offended many persons, Calvin wrote a piece on the subject, which he addressed to his old and faithful friend, Lauren de Normandie.

The following year was not so happy as the two preceding; for, besides the death of Bucer, and that of Jacques Vadian, Consul of St. Gal, persons of singular virtue and profound erudition, which deeply afflicted Calvin and the whole church; the faction of the seditious, which had been long silent, revived suddenly, and occasioned inconceivable evils and disorders; for they not only asserted, that, the right of citizenship ought not to be bestowed upon strangers, who took refuge in Geneva; but, in order to affront Calvin, having met him in the street as he was returning from preaching, they forced him into the middle of the road, and attempted to throw Raimond, his colleague, over the bridge of the Rhone. They afterwards excited a tumult at the church of St. Gervais, because the minister, (following a rule which had been made on sufficient grounds,) had refused to give the name of Baltazar, to a child whom they had brought for baptism.

Calvin, not being able to remedy these evils, bore them with christian resignation and invincible patience.

But farther troubles awaited Geneva; the immediate cause of which was a man, named Hierome Bolzec; who, having quitted the habit, retained the spirit and the inclinations of a monk. This man, after having affronted the Duchesse de Ferrare, was banished from her court; and having taken the degree of doctor of medicine, retired to Geneva. But, not succeeding in the profession which he had embraced, he aspired to the reputation of a celebrated theologian. With this view he corrupted the doctrine of predestination, by a false and absurd dogma, which he was bold enough to maintain in the public congregation. Calvin endeavoured, at first with all possible mildness, to shew him his mistakes, and by private conversation, to recover him from his errors.

On the 15th of August, Bolzec publicly asserted his sentiments in reply to a sermon which had been preached on the subject of predestination: his confidence was increased, by supposing Calvin to be absent, as he did not see him in his usual place. For as the service was commenced when he arrived, he remained amongst the crowd. No sooner had Bolzec concluded his discourse, than Calvin arose, and though he spoke without premeditation, he excited the esteem and admiration of all who heard him; for he alledged so many passages of scripture, and so many testimonies from St. Austin; refuted him by so many unanswerable reasons, and convicted him with so much force and evidence, that, notwithstanding the effrontery of this unfrocked monk, he was covered with confusion. A magistrate present ordered him to be sent to prison; and he was afterwards brought to trial. Jacques de Bourgogne interceded for him. Bolzec appealed to the judgment of the neighbouring churches; he was afterwards ordered to be set at liberty upon finding security; but not procuring any, he remained in prison, and was finally banished on the 18th of December.

Bolzec retired to a neighbouring town, where he caused great disturbances, and having been twice driven from the canton of Berne, he repaired to France, and there used all his efforts to obtain the charge of the ministry, expressing a sincere repentance, and an anxious desire to be reconciled with the church of Geneva. But persecution being again revived in France, he resumed the study of medicine, and renouncing the protestant religion, became a catholic.

The ministers of Geneva, in a public assembly, having illustrated and established the doctrine of predestination, approved of the work which Calvin had written on the subject. But though the ministers of the principal churches unitedly inculcated the doctrine, there were not wanting some in the canton of Berne, who said that Calvin made God the author of sin, notwithstanding this impious sentiment had been clearly refuted by Calvin, in a book which he had written expressly against the libertines.

Castallio was at this time teaching Pelagianism at Basil, though he attempted to disguise his object under the most specious appearances. This controversy continued several years, in the course of which the hermit already mentioned, opposed Calvin. Unable to procure an appointment to the ministerial office, he had embraced the profession of the law, and was become the advocate of the seditious. Finding himself supported by the profligate, he requested a public dispute with Calvin before the council, where the subject was debated with considerable warmth. But as Calvin rested his sentiments upon the authority of reason and of scripture, and his adversary was armed with impudence alone, the issue of the dispute was eminently favourable to our reformer: the truth triumphed over error, and the writings of Calvin were recognized as orthodox by the suffrages of those who had condemned him.

SECTION III.

An examination of the Reformer's conduct in the affair of Servetus.

We are now arrived at a most delicate part of the history of this illustrious reformer; the part which he confessedly took in the punishment of Servetus.

The history of Servetus, so often referred to, and so little understood, merits the minute attention of all who are sufficiently impartial to weigh the opposing interests and circumstances which mark this tragical transaction. The blemishes, real or pretended, of the reformer, having been maliciously employed to discredit the reformation itself, it becomes of no small importance to elucidate this point of history, and to clear Calvin from the injurious imputations which have been falsely thrown upon him.

It has been confidently pretended, and boldly asserted, that Calvin had, through life, nourished an implacable hatred against Servetus, and that the Genevese theologian had employed all his efforts to satiate it in the blood of the unhappy Spaniard; that he denounced him to the magistrates of Vienna, and occasioned him to be arrested on the day after his arrival at Geneva. Things advanced with an air of confidence are readily believed, and it is scarcely suspected that they may be false. Bolzec, however, the mortal enemy of Calvin, who wrote the life of that illustrious man merely to blast his memory, and who was cotemporary with the facts which he relates; and Maimbourg, equally known by his partialities and his falsehoods, have never dared to advance those things which modern historians have not been ashamed to risk. Bolzec says that Servetus quitted Lyons to establish himself at Charlieu, because, "His pride, his insolence, and the danger of his projects, made him equally feared and hated." He adds, that "Servetus returned to Lyons; that he entered into a correspondence with Calvin; that he communicated to him his ideas; that Calvin combated them with force, and that Servetus persisted in them with obstinacy; that he sent him his work entitled *Restitutio Christianismi,* which he printed at that time; and that Calvin, indignant, declined all acquaintance with him."*

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* "Restitutio Christianismi, hoc est totius ecclesiæ apostolicæ ad sua limina vocatio: in integrum restitutâ cognitione

It is evident that Calvin did not betray the secret of Servetus, and that he did not occasion his arrest at Vienna, since he wrote to Viret and to Farel, that, *if that heretic came to Geneva, he would take care that he should be capitally punished.* The ideas of Calvin included in this revolting sentence, were the ideas of all persons and of all sects: they constituted the spirit of the laws, and of the public administration of the times.

Disputes are frequently the source of intolerance; we easily learn to hate those who try to convince us that we are wrong: this was not, however, the case with Calvin; he bore with Servetus as long as there was any hope of reclaiming him. Servetus began with employing injurious expressions of the grossest kind. It is certain that he had rendered himself odious to all who knew him, and that the ideas of most persons agreed with those of Calvin on the punishment which he merited. It is evident

Dei, fidei christianæ, justificationis nostræ, regenerationis, Baptismi, & Cœnæ Domini manducationis; restituto denique nobis regno cœlesti, Babylonis impiâ captivitate soluto, & anti-Christo cum suis penitus destructo." This book is extremely scarce; all the copies were burned at Vienna and at Frankfort: it has been long doubted whether there were any remaining, but it appears certain that Doctor Mead possessed a copy, which found its way into the library of the Duke de la Valiere.

from the letters of Farel, and of Viret, that they did not blame the conduct of Calvin in this affair. Bucer was not ashamed to write, that, " Servetus deserved something worse than death." The excellent, the gentle Melancthon approved the punishment of Servetus: writing to Calvin, he remarks; " In my opinion your magistrates have acted justly, in putting to death a blasphemer, convicted by due process of law." Farel expressly says that, " Servetus deserved a capital punishment." And Beza defended the sentence. All these celebrated men entertained the same opinion on the subject; and as no personal hatred of Servetus can be imputed to them, it is at least as unjust to accuse Calvin of it.

But Calvin, it is said, abused the confidence of Servetus; he sent to Vienna the letters which he had received from him, to which he added his work entitled *Restitutio Christianismi,* of which Servetus had made him a present. This accusation is mysterious; is it to be believed that Calvin, whose name was execrated in all catholic countries, could expect from their magistrates any attentions to his complaints, or any regard to his letters?* But, supposing Calvin could have been capable of such an absurdity, is it to be imagined that he could have kept silence during seven years;

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* The extreme improbability of the correspondence here alluded to, may be inferred from the character of the individual to whom Calvin is said to have applied. " All

historians agree in representing Cardinal Tournon to us, as the scourge of heresy. He caused the severest edicts to be published against the innovators. He established at Paris a fiery court (chambre ardente), which was properly an inquisition, and ordered all the tribunals of the kingdom to prosecute the new errors as crimes against the State. The fury of his zeal transported him so far, that he caused all the heretics to be burned, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. Behold the man they want to make a correspondent of Calvin by letters! Whatever wickedness they would load him with, they must suppose him a perfect blockhead, to attempt such a correspondence by a criminal accusation of his enemy; as it would appear by the loud fits of laughter they make the cardinal fall into, upon receiving this letter.

" But, supposing that this reformer had been capable of such extravagant folly, how can we imagine that the cardinal, ' this scourge of heresy,' would have satisfied himself with laughing at this affair? That he made himself merry with the accuser, needs not surprise us; but that he neglected to prosecute such a heretic as Servetus, we cannot so easily be persuaded of. Thus Calvin himself gives no other reason in answer to the calumny we are refuting, as we shall see by his own words; that the calumny came originally from Servetus; and that Bolzec knew nothing of the matter, but from uncertain reports. ' I have no occasion,' says Calvin ' to insist longer to answer such a frivolous calumny, which falls to the ground, when I shall have said in one word, that there is nothing in it. It is four years since Servetus forged this fable upon me, and made the report travel from Venice to Padua, where they made use of it according to their fancy; I don't dispute, however, if it was by deliberate malice he had forged such lies to bring the hatred of many that he would not have persecuted him sooner; that he would not have sent to the places where Servetus resided, the letters which he had received, and the work which he possessed; it is evident, however, that Calvin had corresponded with Servetus seven years, and the famous letter of Calvin which Uttembogaert saw in the library of the King of France, shews that Calvin was then perfectly acquainted with his character, and that he had seen his

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upon me, or whether fear made him suspicious; only I demand how it could happen, that since the time I discovered him, he has lived three years in the sight of his enemies, without being disquieted, or speaking one word about it to him; certainly either those who complain of me must confess, that it has been falsely invented, or that their martyr, Servetus, has had more favour from the papists than I; if this had been objected to me with justice, and that I had published it in order to have him punished by any person whatsoever, I would not have denied it, and I don't think it could have turned to my dishonour.' This I am confident is sufficient to satisfy reasonable men; above all, if we add to it, what Calvin had said immediately before the passage I have cited. 'A report flies about that I had endeavoured to have had Servetus apprehended in a popish country, *viz.* at Vienna; upon which a great many say, that I have not behaved discreetly, in exposing him to the mortal enemies of the faith, as if I had thrown him in the jaws of wolves; but I pray you, from whence so suddenly this private dealing with the pope's satellites? It is very credible, indeed, that we should correspond together by letters, and that those who agree with me as well as Belial agrees with Jesus Christ, should enter into a plot with such a mortal enemy, as with their own companion.'"

famous work. "Servetus lately wrote to me, and accompanied his letter with a large volume of his extravagant opinions, with a Hectoring boast, that I should see extraordinary and unheard-of things: if I were willing he would come hither; but I was unwilling to give my promise; for if he should come, I would use my authority in such a manner, as not to suffer him to depart alive."* This letter is dated in February 1546; Calvin evidently refers to the work entitled *Restitutio Christianismi:* he plainly discovers his judgment of it, and of the punishment which he thought its author deserved; but it is equally evident that he was very far from engaging him to come to Geneva, and that he had forewarned him of what he might expect to meet with, if he should have the temerity to appear in that city. It is therefore evident that if Calvin endeavoured to keep Servetus from Geneva, to induce him to avoid the punishment with which he threatened him, he could not possibly think of inflicting it upon him elsewhere; which would have been attended with considerable difficulty, if not absolutely impossible.

* "Servetus nuper ad me scripsit, & litteris adjunxit magnum volumen suorum deliriorum cum thrasonicâ jactantiâ me stupenda ac inaudita visurum: si mihi placeat, huc se venturum recipit; sed nolo fidem meam interponere; nam si venerit, modò valeat mea autoritas, vivum exire nunquàm patiar."

But what end could Calvin's letters to the magistrates of Vienna have answered? Calvin was assured that Servetus was known to be the author of the work entitled *Restitutio Christianismi,* since it bore the name of *Villanovanus.* Servetus was well known by this name: it was therefore useless for Calvin to send them intelligence which was public: neither was it more necessary for him to inform them what that book contained; a single perusal evinced it. It would have been absurd in Calvin to send them a copy of the work, since it had been printed in France, under their own eyes; so that it is difficult to imagine the possibility of the conduct of Calvin in this affair being what his enemies have represented it.

Farther; the sentence pronounced at Vienna against Servetus, takes no notice of any interposition on the part of Calvin: it condemns Servetus for his printed work, on the report of the Doctors in Theology, consulted on the occasion, on the ground of the errors contained in that work; and, finally, on the confessions of that unhappy man. It is true that the magistrates of Vienna, having learned that Servetus corresponded with Calvin, demanded his letters with all writings relating to him; but the demand was made to the Council of Geneva, who complied with their request.

From these circumstances it appears that Calvin had no share in sending the letters of Servetus, and that they had no influence upon the decision of Vienna, as no mention is made of them.

Happily, those persons who take pleasure in calumniating others seldom consider all the circumstances of the facts which they wish to impose, but discover the imposture by the impossibility of harmonizing what they invent, with what is real. Thus the report that Calvin, instructed of the escape of Servetus from the prison of Vienna, caused him to be arrested two or three days after his arrival at Geneva, stands self-corrected; as it is certain that he left Vienna before the execution of the sentence which condemned him to be burnt in effigy on the 17th of June: supposing him to have been a fortnight in reaching Geneva, he must have arrived there in the beginning of July, at the latest: he was not, however, arrested until the 13th of August. It is absurd to say that he concealed himself in other places; for to what other places could he have gone? His safety required him to quit those in which the Romish religion was established, lest the clamours of Vienna should have reached them; and Geneva was the first place in which he could hope for an asylum. It is, therefore, evident that Servetus, far from having been arrested upon his arrival at Geneva, must have resided there at least six weeks.

The laws of Geneva requiring that the accuser and the accused should enter the prison together, Calvin directed the process to be made by Nicolas de la Fontaine, his secretary and a student in theology. Calvin confesses that this was done *with his knowledge.* De la Fontaine made himself a prisoner, requiring the detention of Servetus, and produced forty articles upon which he demanded that Servetus should be examined. Servetus was shortly afterwards found guilty. The lieutenant-criminel undertook the process at the instance of the procureur-general, and the student was liberated.

The principal accusations exhibited against Servetus were, First, his having asserted in his Ptolémée, that the Bible celebrated improperly the fertility of the land of Canaan, whilst it was unfruitful and barren. Secondly, his having called one God in three persons a Cerberus, a three-headed monster. Thirdly, his having taught that God was all, and that all was God. Servetus did not deny the truth of the principal accusations, but whilst in prison called the Trinity a Cerberus, a three-headed monster; he also grossly insulted Calvin, and was so fearful that death would be the punishment of heresy at Geneva, as well as at other places, that he presented a petition on the 22d of August, in which he defended the cause of ignorance, and urged the necessity of toleration: the procureur-general replied to him in about eight days, and no doubt did it very ill. Servetus was condemned upon extracts from his books, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, and *In Ptolemeum Commentarius;* from the edition of the Bible which he had published in 1552; from his book *Restitutio Christianismi;* and from a letter which he had written to Abel Paupin, a minster of Geneva.*

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* A copy of the sentence pronounced against Servetus will not be uninteresting to the reader. "We Syndics, judges of all criminal causes in this city, having witnessed the process made and instituted against you, on the part of our lieutenant in the aforesaid causes, instituted against you, Michel de Villeneuve, in the kingdom of Arragon, in Spain, in which your voluntary confessions in our hands, made and often reiterated, and the books before us produced, plainly shew that you, Servetus, have published false and heretical doctrines; and also despising all remonstrances and corrections, have, with a perverse inclination, sown and divulged them in a book published against God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; in sum against all the true foundations of the Christian Religion, and have thereby tried to introduce trouble and schism into the Church of God, by which many souls may have been ruined and lost, things horrible, frightful, scandalous, and infectious, and have not been ashamed to set yourself in array against the Divine Majesty and the Holy Trinity; but rather have obstinately employed yourself in infecting the world with your heresies and stinking heretical poison; a case and crime of heresy grievous and detestable, and deserving of corporal punishment. For these and other just reasons moving us,

The enemies of Calvin exult in this affair, and, for once, with the appearance of reason: but their efforts injured the cause of Servetus; they endeavoured to bring him before the Council of Two-hundred, in which, however, they did not succeed.

The Council of Vienna claimed Servetus, who being left at liberty to return to his ancient judges, preferred the chance of a more favourable judgment at Geneva, to the certainty of suffering the capital punishment pronounced against him at Vienna, where he had been condemned to be burned.

To the Council of Geneva justice ought to be done with respect to this transaction,

and being desirous to purge the Church of God from such infection, and to cut off from it so rotten a member, having had good participation of counsel with our citizens, and having invoked the name of God that we may make a right judgment, sitting upon the tribunal of our predecessors, having God and the Holy Scriptures before our eyes, saying in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, by that definitive sentence, which we here give by this writing, you, Michael Servetus, are condemned to be bound and led to Champel, and there fastened to a stake and burned alive with your book written with your hand, and printed, until your body shall be reduced to ashes, and your days thus finished as an example to others who might commit the same things; and we command you our lieutenant to put this our sentence into execution. Read by the seigneur syndic D'Arlord."

though we may blame the principles of its jurisprudence: they neglected nothing to discover the truth: they multiplied their interrogatories: they employed all possible means to make Servetus retract; and, as they experienced the inutility of these measures, they wrote to the reformed Swiss cantons for their advice. Is it credible? They were unanimous in exhorting the Council to *punish the wicked man, and to put it out of his power to increase heresy.* If Calvin may be supposed to have influenced the Council of Geneva, shall he domineer at his pleasure over Four Councils, of four different states, and all the persons who were consulted by them in forming their judgments? Shall the fury imputed to him render so many magistrates cruel, whom he had never known? It must be confessed, that the intolerant spirit of the age dictated the sentence of Servetus at Geneva; but, it is not equally evident that Calvin was the author of that atrocity, and that he laboured with ardour to accomplish it.

On the 27th of October, Servetus was condemned to be burnt alive; and the sentence was executed on the same day.

Some general observations on the conduct of the Council, and that of Calvin, may serve to silence those persons who are disposed to fancy themselves considerable, because they have calumniated a state, and a great man.

In the first place let it be remembered that the fate of Servetus was approved by the majority of celebrated ecclesiastics amongst the reformed of those times; and that those who are not mentioned, did not think of blaming it: it was also sanctioned by the churches of Switzerland, who even recommended it. Let it be farther remarked, that Castalio, the avowed enemy of Calvin, was the only person who had the courage to espouse the cause of Servetus, and of the heretics, in a *Dissertation*, in which it is considered, "By what right, or with what advantage, heretics may be restrained, or capitally punished." And let it be observed, he was afraid to put his name to it, though he resided at Basil, and therefore took the name of Bellius. From this circumstance it is evident, that the doctrine which he so properly defended was generally condemned by the public tribunals, and that it exposed its defenders to severe penalties.

It had long been the custom at Geneva to proceed with violence against heretics: in the year 1536, several persons were deprived of their freedom who did not embrace the received doctrine: from the year 1541, the Consistory possessed the right of forcing the magistrates and the people to continue faithful to the holy doctrine, and to observe good morals. In 1558, Gentilis escaped death only by a retractation, though it was known to be feigned; and Calvin, in a letter which he wrote at that time, observed; "Servetus by a recantation might have averted his punishment: I would have it attested that my hostility was not so deadly; but that by humility alone, had he not been deprived of his senses, he might have saved his life; but I know not how to account for his conduct without supposing him to have been seized with a fatal insanity, and to have plunged himself headlong into ruin."* From this fragment it appears that Servetus might have retracted; that Calvin wished him to do it; that he was grieved that the retractation was not made: it is also evident that the Council furnished him with occasions of so doing; that they descended to theological conversations, in which they endeavoured to instruct him; but he persisted in defending his opinions in a blasphemous manner; so that if Servetus was condemned, it was because he was not afraid of exposing himself to it, since he was acquainted with the existence of the laws which threatened him, and, independently of those laws, could not have been brought to trial; but, as the Council could not violate them to absolve him, neither could they change them to mitigate his punishment: these laws equally opposed the desire of the Council to commute the punishment into banishment, and the efforts of Calvin to render it less cruel.

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* "Mutando mentem pœnas à se avertere potuisset Servetus: hoc testatum volo me non ità capitaliter infestum quin licitum fuerit vel solâ modestiâ, nisi mente privatus foret, vitam redimere; sed nescio quod dicam, nisi fatali vesaniâ fuisse correptum, & se precipitem jaceret."

The civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence of the tribunals with respect to heresy, was undoubtedly grossly inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the principles of equity. But if we could transport ourselves into that age, and contemplate the circumstances in which Calvin was placed, divesting our minds of prejudice, we should no doubt perceive that the sentence was that of the civil judges, and that they strictly followed the ordinary course of the law; that Calvin followed the judgment of all the ecclesiastics of his time, and complied with the sanguinary laws of every country in Europe against heretics.

It cannot, however, be denied, that in this instance Calvin acted contrary to the benignant spirit of the gospel. It is better to drop a tear over the inconsistency of human nature, and to bewail those infirmities which cannot be justified. He declares that he acted conscientiously, and publicly justified the act. Cranmer acted the same part towards the poor Anabaptists in the reign of Edward VI. This doctrine they had learnt at Rome, and it is certain, that, with a very few exceptions, it was at this time the opinion of all parties.* The apostles John and James would have called down fire from heaven; Calvin and Cranmer kindled it on earth. This, however, is the only fault alledged against Calvin; but, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone."

"It ought, however," says a sensible writer, "to be acknowledged, that, persecution for religious principles was not at that time peculiar to any party of Christians, but common to all, whenever they were invested with civil power. It was a detestable error; but it was the error of the age. They looked upon heresy in the same light as we look upon those crimes which are inimical to the peace of civil society; and, accordingly, proceed to punish heretics by the sword of the civil magistrate. If Socinians did not persecute their adversaries so much as Trinitarians, it was because they were not equally invested with the power of doing so. Mr. Lindsay acknowledges, that Faustus Socinus himself was not free from persecution in the case of Francis David, superintendant of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania. David had disputed with Socinus on the invocation of Christ, and died in prison in consequence of his opinion, and some offence taken at his supposed indiscreet propagation of it from the pulpit. "I wish I could say," adds Mr. Lindsay, "that Socinus, or his friend Blandrata had done all in their power to prevent his commitment, or procure his release afterwards." The difference between Socinus and David was very slight. They both held Christ to be a mere man. The former, however, was for praying to him; which the latter, with much greater consistency, disapproved. Considering this, the persecution to which

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* The author of the Memoirs of Literature, says, "If the religion of Protestants depended on the doctrine and conduct of the Reformers, he should take care how he published his account of Servetus: but as the Protestant Religion is entirely founded on Holy Scripture, so the defaults of the reformer ought not to have any ill influence on the reformation. The doctrine of non-toleration, which obtained in the sixteenth century, among some Protestants, was that pernicious error which they had imbibed in the Church of Rome: and, I believe, I can say, without doing any injury to that church, that she is, in a great measure, answerable for the execution of Servetus. If the Roman Catholics had never put any person to death for the sake of religion, I dare say that Servetus had never been condemned to die in any protestant city. Let us remember, that Calvin, and all the magistrates of Geneva in the year 1553, were born and bred up in the Church of Rome: this is the best apology that can be made for them."
Biographia Evangelica, Vol. ii. p. 42.

Socinus was accessary was as great as that of Calvin; and there is no reason to think, but that if David had differed as much from Socinus as Servetus did from Calvin, and if the civil magistrates had been for burning him, Socinus would have concurred with them. To this it might be added, that the conduct of Socinus was marked with disingenuity; in that he considered the opinion of David in no very heinous point of light; but was afraid of increasing the odium under which he and his party already lay, among other Christian Churches.

It was the opinion that *erroneous religious principles are punishable by the civil magistrate,* that did the mischief, whether at Geneva, in Transylvania, or in Britain; and to this, rather than to Trinitarianism or to Unitarianism, it ought to be imputed.*

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* See Calvinistic and Socinian Systems, examined and compared, by Andrew Fuller. 2d Edit. p. 146.

SECTION IV.

Calvin's intrepidity in refusing the sacrament to Bertelier—Persecution of Farel—Calvin's behaviour to the persecuted protestants—Character of Gentilis—Reflections on intolerance—Calvin the means of founding a College.

Bertelier, a man of an abandoned character, having been suspended from the communion of the Church, petitioned the Seigneurs to terminate his suspension. In consequence of the clamours of those who maintained that the Consistory usurped the authority of the magistrates, the Council granted him permission to communicate.

Perrin and his faction pleased themselves with the expectation that Calvin would either disobey the orders of the Seigneurs, and thus be treated as a criminal against the state; or that if he obeyed, the authority of the Consistory, which repressed their disorders, might be easily overthrown. But Calvin, having received notice of this resolution two days before the administration of the Supper, discovered the most intrepid courage on the Sunday following; when, after having preached with energy against those who despised the sacred mysteries, "I will," declared he, "imitate the example of St. Chrysostom, and, like him, rather expose myself to death, than give holy things to the profane, who have been declared unworthy to partake of the body of Jesus Christ." Wicked and unruly as were the enemies of Calvin, these words had such effect upon them, that Perrin sent some one secretly to Bertelier, to desire him not to approach the table of the Lord, and they partook of the holy mysteries in the most devout and edifying manner.

Leaving Calvin to his repose, these seditious persons turned their rage against Farel. Having visited Geneva, and thinking that his age and the important services which he had rendered to the Church might give him considerable authority, he censured them severely in one of his sermons. But they complained loudly that Farel had done them a serious injury, and he was no sooner returned to his church, than they procured him to be cited to Geneva, to give an account of his conduct.

Farel in complying with this order, exposed himself to considerable danger; for the faction was extremely incensed against him, and theatened to throw him into the Rhone; but a bold and courageous young man having warned Perrin, that if Farel, the common father of the city, suffered any ill treatment, *his* person should no longer be safe; and others well disposed having joined him, the seditious were so dismayed, that they asked pardon for their behaviour; after which, Farel having received audience, was fully justified.

This year proved, upon the whole, propitious to the church; the principal thing, however, which afflicted it was the death of Edward, King of England; a prince of extraordinary virtue and piety, universally lamented by the whole reformed world. The troubles of Geneva did not, however, hinder Calvin from prosecuting his studies; for it was in the midst of these confusions that he composed his Commentary on St. John.

Calvin was at this time occupied with the care of the numerous strangers who had been obliged to quit England, some of whom had retired to Vezel, others to Embden, and the rest to Francfort, and who all frequently solicited his advice.

The great labours in which he was engaged for the interests of the church, appear in the number of letters which he wrote to different princes, to induce them to embrace the reformation; and to the persecuted protestants, to exhort them to suffer death courageously, with which they were threatened; and to others to support their confinements and chains with constancy.

The harmony which, after much contention, prevailed on the subject of the supper of the Lord, was now interrupted by Joachin Vestphal, who having sounded the tocsin, was followed by Heshusius, who was afterwards made a bishop. This obliged Calvin to publish a work on the subject, which, whilst it mortified his enemies, proved highly useful and acceptable to the friends of truth.

The destruction of the faction which had so long annoyed our reformer, was accelerated by the disclosure of a conspiracy against the State, made by some drunkards concerned in it, in consequence of which, some were condemned to a capital punishment, and others quitted the city.

These troubles being appeased, Calvin was not left without occasion for the exercise of his virtue, as he took great pains to promote the establishment of the churches of Poland; and England was afflicted with a most cruel persecution, in which many persons were put to death, and amongst others, those glorious martyrs and illustrious bishops, John Hooper, Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. The afflictions of England affected him deeply: he also did his utmost to comfort his brethren who were persecuted in France, and to inspire with christian courage the five generous martyrs who were burned at Cambray.

Matthieu Gribald, a celebrated lawyer who had revived the opinions of Servetus at Geneva, having escaped from Tubingue, was taken at Berne, and after renouncing his heresies, in order to escape the danger which threatened him, he was no sooner set at liberty than he openly supported Gentilis, of whom an account will be given in its place He afterwards died of the plague, which probably spared him a more ignominious death.

In the neighbourhood of Geneva arose a faction composed of ministers, who were extremely bitter against Calvin, and who acted under the influence of Bolzec. These persons, though of infamous characters, thinking to acquire reputation by attacking so illustrious and formidable an adversary, accused him of making God the author of sin. These calumnies not being new, Calvin at first despised them; but finding himself at length compelled to justify himself, solicited permission to repair to Berne, accompanied by envoys from the republic, and to maintain the cause of truth there. This being consented to, he acquitted himself with such complete success, that Castallio and Bolzec were banished with infamy from the territory of Berne.

Shortly after his return from Berne, he was attacked with a tertian fever, which seized him while he was preaching, and obliged him to leave the pulpit. This circumstance gave rise to many false reports which were so acceptable to the Roman Catholics, that those of Noyon made a solemn procession, to return thanks to God for the death of Calvin. This was certainly one of the least suspicious eulogies of Calvin, and shews, the enemies themselves being judges, his importance in the cause of the reformation. In the month of August in this year, Calvin set out for Francfort, with the design of terminating the troubles which the disputes about the Lord's supper had given rise to there. The council thought it necessary to send a guard with him.

Having returned to Geneva, though he found himself indisposed, he did not, however, remit his usual labours; but continued his Commentary on the Psalms, which he gave to the public the year following, accompanied with an admirable preface. He also undertook to defend the truth against Westphal.

The news of the dreadful persecution of the protestants in Paris deeply affected Calvin: having assembled for the purpose of celebrating the Lord's supper, they were discovered, when eighty of them were seized; the greatest part of whom were imprisoned, after being charged with various injuries, and cruelly treated; amongst whom were several ladies of the first quality. The courtiers who influenced the king, had awakened his anger against the protestants, and raised this storm against them. Besides which, the state of the kingdom was unfavourable to them; for this affliction befel them soon after the French had been defeated at Saint Quintin; on which account they assembled at night, not daring to meet in the day; which gave rise to those idle tales which Demochares and their enemies published against them; accusing them of the same crimes with which the pagans endeavoured to blacken the first christians. For besides pretending that the protestants were the cause of all the afflictions of the State, they had procured false witnesses to testify, that after having extinguished the lamp which lighted them, they prostituted themselves to every kind of abomination: and notwithstanding the utter improbability of this report, there were not a few weak enough to give credit to it.

But the rage of their enemies did not terminate here; for twenty-one of these unhappy persons were condemned to be burned alive. And as only seven of them were executed at a time, this dismal spectacle was exhibited to the public at three different periods. The first who suffered this cruel punishment discovered the most admirable constancy, particularly a lady of quality and two young men.

This storm was at length appeased, either by the calumnies of their enemies being detected, or by the king's being influenced by the earnest intercession of the German ambassadors, whom Calvin had engaged to intercede for his brethren of that kingdom.

Whilst France was thus agitated, the republic of Geneva happily contracted a perpetual alliance with that of Berne, contrary to the expectations of the exiles of that city; but the joy which that alliance afforded them was damped by several unpleasant occurrences; for besides the rekindling of persecution in France, the heresy of the Tritheists was at this time revived by Valentin Gentilis.

Shortly after the death of Servetus, Gentilis, a man possessed of an ardent and penetrating mind, though more subtle than solid, meeting with the work of Servetus, and Calvin's refutation of it, easily perceived that neither the ideas nor the specious reasonings of Servetus to colour the heresy of Paul of Samosata, nor the confusion of persons in the Trinity taught by Sabellius; nor the sentiments of Arius, respecting the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, could be made to harmonize with the word of God.

Perceiving farther, that what the scriptures teach with regard to three persons in one essence, is above our conceptions; instead of submitting to the wisdom of God, he endeavoured to persuade himself that every truth must be necessarily intelligible. Having, therefore, attributed the principal authority, and as it were the monarchy, to the person of the Father, whom he called the only sovereign and independant God; he considered the essence of the divinity to be communicated to the other persons in such a manner as to make not only three persons, but three distinct essences: that is to say, three Gods eternal, almighty and immense. To maintain this heresy, he perverted the scriptures, and the authority of the Council of Nice, of Ignatius, Tertullian, Ireneus, and Lactantius; and rejected all the orthodox divines who have embraced the doctrine of the Council of Nice.

At first he proposed his opinion privately, and amongst other persons, to Jean Paul Alciat Milanois, and to Georges Blandrata, a physician, professing only to examine the reasons which might support, and those which might overthrow it. But the Consistory of the Italian church, having been informed that this sentiment was spreading throughout the town, convoked an extraordinary assembly, at which, in the presence of a certain number of seigneurs, chosen for the occasion, and of all the ministers and elders, the reasons alledged in support of that doctrine were refuted by Calvin; this conference induced all the Italians to sign the orthodox doctrine, with the exception of six, who shortly afterwards, at the solicitation of their friends, signed it also, although they did not approve of it, which soon became evident. Valentin Gentilis at first refused to subscribe the proposed formulary; he, however, complied afterwards, but continued to dogmatize against the received doctrine, on which account he was committed to prison, where he held a dispute with Calvin, on the 15th of July, who answered him in writing. Being convicted of perjury and of voluntary heresy, he was condemned to be beheaded. Having, however, abjured his heresies, his sentence was commuted for an ignominious punishment, to which he submitted on the 2d of September.

When it is considered that the right of private judgment was the leading principle implied and acted upon in the reformation, it is scarcely possible to read these repeated instances of intolerance without regretting the inconsistency of the protestant churches. No privilege appears to have been more variously contested than that of the right of private judgment; a privilege, founded in the nature, and responsible circumstances of man, and recognized by the impartial spirit and high authority of christianity. The individual right, as well as the right of communities, is frequently claimed and acted upon by those, who are prepared to resist the same claim when asserted by others, whom interest makes it convenient to oppose. To say that the reformers possessed this right, and were justified in employing it in the establishment of the reformation, and that their protestant brethren were not entitled to the same privilege, is an assumption which no friend to religious liberty can consistently allow. It is true that the reformation had chiefly to do with the worship and discipline of the church, though not exclusively; and that the heresies of the protestants were doctrinal: but if the right of private judgment be allowed in one instance, it must be admitted in all; since the New Testament knows of no limitation or exception, but considers every man as exclusively responsible to God, and rests the right and the exercise of it upon that responsibility. In unison with which principle, we must understand the words, "*One is your master, even Christ.*" If there could possibly be any difference with respect to the importance of the exercise of the right, it must apply to doctrinal subjects, which, on account of their extensive importance, require the utmost freedom of investigation, and the most unbiassed determination; but though the application of the right is in these circumstances pre-eminently important, the right itself is independant of any considerations of a comparative nature. The denial of the exercise of this rational and christian right, seconded by influence sufficient to prevent it, would necessarily have the effect of throwing us back again into the darkness and barbarity of the middle ages. With the papists, an opposition to this privilege was part of a policy by which a corrupt hierarchy was long supported. This principle, enforced by secular authority and superstitious awe, would have rendered the reformation impossible. A slight acquaintance with the history of persecution might be sufficient to teach its abettors not only its incompetency to enforce conviction, but its uniform tendency to strengthen opposition, and confirm prejudices. But it should seem that there is connected with the act of persecution, a certain undefinable pleasure, which is at once the luxury and reproach of a bigoted and malignant mind. The real ground of persecution, whatever specious forms it may assume, is the native depravity of human nature; in decidedly wicked characters, it selects for its object vital christianity; but where it unhappily obtains amongst religious persons, it must certainly be ascribed to ill-regulated zeal, and a mistaken apprehension of the genius of christianity.

Calvin being convinced that the best method to preserve the purity of religion, was to enlighten men's understandings, used his utmost exertions to found a college, in which youth might be well instructed. In the year 1556, he proposed the establishment of one; but foreign affairs prevented the council from attending to the object at that time; at length, in the year 1559, he had the satisfaction of seeing his wishes accomplished, a college being founded, and furnished with enlightened teachers; an academy was also erected, which acquired the esteem of foreigners by the celebrity of its professors. Calvin desired that Theodore Beza should be the principal rector of this promising academy, and was contented himself to be the chief professor of Theology.

SECTION V.

Calvin presented with the freedom of the city of Geneva—Revises and republishes his Institutes in Latin and in French—Replies to several heretics—Though greatly afflicted by disease is unremitting in his exertions—Is carried to the church and receives the sacrament from the hands of Beza.

It is difficult to conceive that it was only in this year, 1559, that Calvin was presented with the freedom of the city; no citizen, however, had ever earned so well this honourable title as he had done by his services; few have so well deserved it, or rendered it so celebrated.

Calvin was this year attacked with a quartan ague, which laid the foundation of his subsequent illness, and death; for though he recovered his health eight months afterwards, he was so much reduced, as never again to be perfectly restored.

During his illness, though his physicians and his friends conjured him to be careful of his health and to remit his usual labours, he continued to dictate and to write several letters. And though so continually occupied, that he could not fulfil all the duties of his charge, he used to remark that idleness was extremely irksome to him. It was at this time, however, that he revised and republished his Institutes, in Latin and in French; and corrected his Commentary on Isaiah, in such a manner as to render it a new work.

At this period, two of the most powerful monarchs of Europe terminated their differences by an alliance. This peace would probably have been fatal to the protestant churches, had not a divine Providence counteracted the designs of the catholics, who had obtained an entire influence over Henry II. and who abused his compliance to excite a persecution against the protestants. With this view they induced that prince to publish several severe edicts against them, and to imprison some of the counsellors of the parliament of Paris, who were suspected of favouring their cause; and inspired him with the design of destroying the *New Sect,*—a name by which they were then called.

But while the church was overwhelmed with consternation, and engaged in imploring divine succour with all imaginable ardour, Henry II. was mortally wounded at a tournament, by one of his captains of the guards; who, by his orders, had a few days before arrested the counsellors; this event changing the face of affairs, the reformed were delivered from a danger which appeared inevitable.

After the death of Henry II. Calvin was accused of having raised a conspiracy against Francis II. although he had disapproved of the enterprize, and employed his efforts to subdue it.

Stancarus Mantoüan began at this time to teach, that Jesus Christ was mediator only with respect to his humanity, accusing those of Arianism, who thought him mediator in respect of his divinity, and asserting that they made the Son less than the Father. Melancthon and Martyr wrote against this sentiment, and Calvin refuted it briefly; foreseeing at the same time, what afterwards happened, that to avoid the errors of Stancarus, many persons would be in danger of falling into those of the Tritheists; he, therefore, expressly cautioned them to be upon their guard with respect to Blandrata, and his party, and instructed them to maintain that Jesus Christ was mediator according to both his natures, without multiplying the divinity.

The Vaudois of Bohemia having deputed two persons to wait upon Calvin, to ask his advice on several points of religion, he received them with great affability, answered all their questions, and exhorted them earnestly to join the reformed churches.

After the death of Francis II. Charles IX. wrote in 1561, to the Council of Geneva, to complain of their receiving into the town, the enemies of France, and fostering those public disturbers. Calvin was accordingly summoned with his colleagues before the council; and admitted that the pastors had sent into France several pious men, to regulate the churches there, which the had been solicited to do; but that they were too deeply occupied about the advancement of religion to be employed in sowing troubles in the kingdom; and that he was ready with his colleagues, to answer their accusers before the king. Charles acknowledged apparently the innocence of Calvin, and his colleagues, for nothing farther was heard upon the subject.

Soon afterwards Calvin replied to Tileman Heshusius; and published a work shewing the blasphemies with which the work of Gentilis, against the creed of Athanasius, was filled. He also published at this time his work on

Daniel, which he dedicated to the churches of France; and while in his Commentary he appears the intepreter of the prophet, in his dedicatory epistle he appears himself almost a pròphet, predicting the tempests which were shortly to arise, though the conference then held at Poissy gave reason to expect the entire destruction of the catholic religion.

The disputes in which Calvin was interested were not yet finished: in 1561, a fresh discussion arose between him and Baldwin, who had published during the conference of Poissy, a book of Cassander's, under the title, *De Officio pii ac publicæ tranquilitatis vere amantis in hoc religionis studio.* To this work Calvin replied; a controversy ensued, in the course of which, a warmth of temper was betrayed on both sides, which reflected no honour on the disputants; but which is far from being singular in theological controversies.

Calvin was at this time exceedingly afflicted by the state of the protestants in France; for after having obtained an edict, which put an end to the sufferings to which they had been long exposed, and which granted them the free exercise of their religion, the artifices of their enemies succeeded in withdrawing the King of Navarre from the protestant interest, and the

Duc de Guise had made a cruel slaughter in Vassi, and had begun a civil war which long desolated that kingdom.

His disorders were now visibly increasing daily, and it was evident that he was making rapid advances towards a better world. His afflictions, however weighty, never dejected him. His usual duties of visiting the sick and afflicted, of preaching, and giving theological lectures, were punctually discharged; and knowing that the churches of France were not only openly attacked, but secretly defamed to the German princes; he drew up their confession of faith, which was presented to the Diet of Francfort.

On the 19th of December, Calvin being confined to his bed with the gout, and the wind having been unusually high for two days, made use of the following expressions to some friends present: "I have thought I heard an alarming noise all night, and I could not help thinking, that it was occasioned by a great number of drums. I cannot understand it. We shall certainly soon hear of some important event. Let us beseech God to have pity upon his church." This was thought very remarkable, when soon after, by news brought from France it appeared that on the same day a bloody battle was fought between the king's army, and that of the Prince of Condé.

The disorders of Calvin, which were now rapidly on the increase, rendered his exertions at this period almost incredible; for notwithstanding his reduced state, he could never be induced to remit in the slightest degree, his ordinary occupations. If at any time his weakness prevented his attendance upon his public duties, he never failed to dictate or write a great variety of letters, in answer to persons who consulted him from various parts of Europe. Amongst his numerous avocations at this period, are the exhortations which he gave on the subject of the holy Trinity; his answers to the deputies of the Synod of Lyons: the Commentaries which he composed in French and in Latin, upon the Books of Moses; as well as his Commentary upon the Book of Joshua, which he began this year, and finished a little before his death.

The year 1564, the first of his eternal felicity, occasioned a deep and lasting grief to Geneva. On the 2d of February he delivered his last sermon, and on the same day, his last theological lecture. His asthma depriving him of the use of his voice, he abstained from all the functions of his charge. He was, indeed, sometimes carried to the congregation, but seldom spoke.

In a letter which he wrote to the physicians of Montpellier, he gives an account of the maladies which his various labours of body, and of mind had brought upon him. For, besides being of a dry and feeble temperament and strongly inclined to consumption, he slept very unsoundly. During ten years at least he ate no dinner, taking no nourishment until supper time. He was subject to a head-ach, the only remedy for which was fasting; on account of which, he remained sometimes thirty-six hours without eating. He was also frequently attacked by the hemorrhoides, which were brought on partly by his efforts in preaching, and partly by the excessive use of aloes; and five years before his death he was seized with a spitting of blood. He was no sooner cured of the quartan ague than he was attacked by the gout; he was afterwards afflicted with the cholic, and a few months before his death, with the stone. The physicians exhausted their art upon him, and no man ever observed their instructions with more regularity. But as to what relates to the labours of the mind, he had so little respect to his health, that the most violent head-achs never prevented his appearance in the pulpit in his turn.

Afflicted, however, as he was by so many maladies, he was never known to pronounce a word unworthy of a christian, or even of a man of constancy and courage. In his greatest agonies, lifting his eyes to heaven, he was accustomed only to repeat the words, "How long, O Lord?" When in health, he frequently made use of these words, with reference to the calamities of his brethren in Jesus Christ, whose afflictions were much more painful to him than his own. When importuned not to dictate or write, during his illness, "Would you," said he, "that when the Lord comes, he should surprise me in idleness?"

On the 10th of March, being dressed and seated before the table at which he was accustomed to write, he was visited by Beza and other friends; upon seeing them, he leaned his head upon one of his hands, apparently meditating, and addressed them in a low voice, but with a cheerful and open countenance; saying, "I return you my thanks, my very dear brethren, for all the care you take of me; I hope you will soon be relieved from it, and that in a fortnight I shall assist in your assembly for the last time. For I think that after that time, the Lord will remove me from this world, and raise me to his Paradise."

On the 24th of March, he assisted at the assembly as he had predicted, and when it was concluded, he remarked that God had given him some respite; and having taken up the New Testament, he read some of the marginal annotations, and asked his colleagues their opinions on what he had read; for he had undertaken the revision and correction of those notes.

Being fatigued with the exertions of the day, he was worse on the morrow. On the 27th, being carried to the council, he walked, supported by two men, to the hall in which the seigneurs were assembled; where, being uncovered, he thanked them for all the favours which he had received from them, and particularly for the proofs of affection which they had shewn him in his last illness; "For I feel," said he, "that I shall not again have the honour of appearing in this place." Having with much difficulty made this speech, he took his leave of them weeping.

Though extremely reduced, he was carried to the church, on the 2d of April, when he heard the whole of the sermon, and received from the hands of Beza, the Lord's supper; and feeble as was his voice he joined in singing the psalms. His countenance was so cheerful and serene, that the congregation were delighted with the sight of their pastor's great joy, and entire resignation.

It is not easy to conceive a more interesting scene; on the one hand an illustrious reformer, and venerable pastor, anticipating the resplendent crown of righteousness awaiting him; and though willing to abide in his earthly tabernacle for the sake of his beloved flock, having also a desire to depart and to be with Christ: on the other hand, a devoted people, grateful to their spiritual benefactor, for his laborious exertions, and edifying example: willing to resign him to the society of the blessed above, and thankful for his apparent meetness for it.

SECTION VI.

Calvin's will—His farewell address to the syndics—His composure in the prospect of death—His death—Burial, epitaph, and character.

The will of the Genevian reformer, made on the 25th of April, and which contains an epitome of his sentiments and experience, cannot fail to be interesting to the reader, and is here inserted verbatim.

THE WILL OF JOHN CALVIN.

" In the name of God. To all whom it may concern; be it known that in the year 1564, and on the 25th day of the month of April, I, Pierre Chenelat, citizen and sworn notary of Geneva, having been called in by John Calvin, minister of the word of God, in the church of Geneva, and citizen of the said Geneva; who, being indisposed in body, but of sound and disposing mind, hath declared to me his wish to make his last will and testament; desiring me to write what he should dictate and pronounce; which at his said request I have done, and written what he hath dictated to me, and pronounced word by word, without omitting, or adding any thing thereto, according to what followeth. In the name of God. I, John Calvin, minister of the word of God, in the church of Geneva, finding myself so much reduced by various maladies, that I cannot but think, that God will shortly remove me out of this world, have ordered to be made and written my testament, and declaration of my last will, in form and manner following:

"First, I give thanks to God, that, taking pity on me, whom he hath created and placed in this world, he hath delivered me out of the thick darkness of idolatry, into which I was plunged; and hath brought me into the light of his gospel, and made me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation whereof I was most unworthy. And he hath not only gently and graciously borne with my faults and sins, for which I deserved to be rejected of him and cast out, but hath vouchsafed to use my labours in preaching and publishing the truth of his gospel. And I declare it is my wish and intention to continue in the same faith and religion, having no other hope or refuge but in his gratuitous adoption of me, upon which is founded all my salvation: embracing the grace which he has given me in Jesus Christ, and accepting the merit of his death and passion, that so all my sins may be buried: and beseeching him so to wash and cleanse me in the blood of that great Redeemer which was shed for all poor sinners, that in his image I may appear before his face. I declare also, that, according to the measure of grace bestowed upon me, I have endeavoured to teach his word in its purity, as well in sermons as in writings, and endeavoured faithfully to expound the holy scriptures: and that in all the disputes which I have had with the enemies of truth, I have never used either craftiness or sophistry, but have fairly maintained the truth. But alas! my zeal, if it deserve the name, has been so cold and unworthy, that I feel myself highly indebted in all, and through all: and if it were not for his infinite bounty, all the zeal I have discovered would appear light as smoke, and the graces which he has bestowed upon me would only render me more guilty. So that my only refuge is, that He being the Father of mercy, I trust he will be and appear the Father of so miserable a sinner. Further, I desire that my body after my decease, may be interred in the customary manner, awaiting the day of a blessed resurrection. With respect to the property which God hath given me to dispose of, I name and appoint as my only heir, my well-beloved brother Antony Calvin; nominally leaving to him only the cup which I received from Monsieur de Varennes, begging him to be content therewith, which I am persuaded he will be; knowing that I have no other motive than that what little I leave may descend to his children. Further, I leave to the college, ten crowns, and to the purse for poor strangers, the same sum. Also to Jane, daughter of Charles Castan and of my half sister on the paternal side, the sum of ten crowns. Further, to Samuel and to John, sons of my said brother, my nephews, each forty crowns. And to my nieces, Ann, Susanna, and Dorothy, each thirty crowns. As to my nephew David, as he hath proved but light and trifling, I bequeath to him only twenty crowns, for chastisement. This is in sum, all the property which God hath given me, as far as I am able to ascertain it in books, furniture, and other things. Should it, however, prove more, I desire it may be distributed between my nephews and nieces aforesaid, not excluding my nephew David, should God give him grace to be more circumspect. But, I believe that with respect to this, there will be no difficulty, especially when my debts are paid, which I have given in charge to my brother, upon whom I can depend; naming him executor of this testament, with Laurent de Normandie, giving them full power and authority to make an inventory of, and to sell my goods, to procure money in order to comply with the contents hereof. Dated this 25th of April 1564. So be it.

"JOHN CALVIN."

"On the morrow, being the 26th day of April 1564, the said John Calvin did also direct me to assemble Theodore de Beza, Raymond Chauvet, Michael Cop, Louis Enoch, Nicolas Colladon, Jacques de Bordes, ministers of the word of God in this church, and also Henry Scringer, professor of arts, all citizens of Geneva, in the presence of whom he hath declared, that he desired me to write from his words, the said will in the form and words above; desiring me to read it in his presence, and that of the said witnesses, which I have also done word by word. This being done, he hath declared this to be his last will and testament, desiring that it might be faithfully observed. In further approbation of which, he hath requested the aforenamed witnesses to subscribe it with me: which hath also been done on the day and year aforesaid, at Geneva, in the street called the Canons, in his own house. In proof of which, I have affixed the common seal of our highly honoured seigneurs and superiors, and my seal manual as customary.

(Signed) "P. CHENELAT."

Having thus made his will, he signified to the four syndics his wish to address them once more in their assembly, to which he hoped to be carried on the morrow. But they informed him that they would visit him, and conjured him to be careful of his health. The next day, being all present at his house, after the usual compliments, and Calvin having told them that he had long wished to address them, and to express the last proof of his affection for them, and his attachment to the interests of the State, but that he had not been willing to do it until he was assured of the near approach of death. "I thank you," said he, "my highly honoured seigneurs, for all the honours you have done me, however unworthy I have been of them; and for the proofs of affection which you have given me, bearing with my weaknesses, and my deficiencies, with long patience. And though in the duties of my charge I have been exposed to various struggles, and have endured numerous attacks, I know that these things have not happened by your fault, but by the secret orders of divine Providence, who exposes his children to various tribulations. But, because I have not acquitted myself of my duty as I ought to have done, I earnestly entreat you to consider not so much what I have done, as what I intended to do. For I can declare with sincerity, that I have felt a deep concern in the interests of your republic, and that if I have not discharged all the duties of my charge, I have at least used my utmost endeavours to promote the welfare of the public.

"If I were not indeed to acknowledge that the Lord has made use of my ministry for the good of his church, and that by the help of heaven, my labours have not been useless to you; you might with justice accuse me of dissimulation. But as I am convinced that what I have done is trifling, compared to what the Lord required of me, I beseech you earnestly to excuse my faults and my short comings.

"I thank you, however, for the indulgence which you have shewn me in bearing with mildness and with charity all my transports of anger, which I hope God will pardon, as well as all my other sins. Finally, I declare before God, that I have not rashly or without due conviction, taught you the doctrine which you have heard from me; but that I have purely and sincerely preached to you the word of God, according to the charge which he hath given me of it. And as I should have provoked his anger, if I had acted otherwise, so I am persuaded that my labours, and the pains which I have taken to instruct you, have not been displeasing to him. And I make this declaration before God, and in your presence, so much the more willingly, as I do not doubt that Satan, after his usual manner, will raise up many light, wicked, and ambitious spirits, to corrupt and change the pure doctrine which I have published to you."

Having represented to them the infinite blessings with which God had loaded them; "There is no one," added he, "who can better than myself inform you from how many dangers the powerful and merciful hand of the Lord hath delivered you. You see the happy state in which you now are. Whether, therefore, you are in prosperity or in adversity, keep this truth constantly in view, that it is God alone who preserves cities and kingdoms, and that he requires homage from them, in acknowledgment that they depend entirely upon himself. Remember that David, that illustrious king, confesses that it was at a time when he enjoyed a profound peace, that he experienced so dangerous a fall, from which he would never have arisen, if the Lord by a singular favour had not stretched out his hand. What ought not weak and infirm men, therefore, to fear, since so powerful and pious a prince has fallen?

"You must, therefore, humble yourselves exceedingly before God, if you desire that he would give you grace to live in his fear, and to put your whole trust in his all-sufficient help. Conducting yourselves thus, you may be persuaded that you will experience his protection, as you have done hitherto, and that you will remain firm and unshaken, although your salvation hangs upon a slender thread. If, therefore, the Lord prosper your designs, be careful that you do not exalt yourselves like the profane, but with deep submission, render unto him the humblest thanks for all the good he is doing for you. And when you find yourselves in adversity, when even death shall surround you on all sides, fail not to hope in him who has power to raise the dead; and consider that God only smites you to excite your zeal, and to teach you to hope in him alone.

"If, however, you are anxious that God would preserve you in the happy state in which you now are, be careful not to defile by your vices, the holiness of the church in which he hath placed you. For he is the only sovereign God, the King of Kings, and the Lord of

Lords, who loads with good things, and with honours, those who honour him; but who abases and covers with contempt those who despise him. Serve him, therefore, according to the precepts which he hath given you; have nothing so much at heart as to obey his divine will, and seek daily to acquire some new degree of virtue and of perfection: for whilst we are in this world we can never accomplish all the duties which God has enjoined upon us. I know the morals and the inclinations of each of you, and I know that you stand in need of exhortation; no man is so perfect as not to have many faults. Examine yourselves, therefore, carefully, and ask of God those qualities and virtues which you yet need.

"We all know what vices reign in the assemblies of those who govern the states; some, neglecting the public good, mind only their private interests; others are only anxious to gratify their passions; some make a bad use of the gifts of Heaven; while others filled with vanity and a good opinion of themselves, wish to impose their advice upon all the world.

"I conjure the aged, not to envy young persons the graces with which God hath adorned them; and the young to discover in their whole conduct great modesty and humility.

Be not discouraged, neither trouble one another. Avoid all kinds of animosities and bitterness. For nothing is more likely to prevent the execution of designs for the public good.

"To be defended from all these evils, each one must be satisfied with the condition in which he is placed, and all acquit themselves generally with fidelity in the employment committed to them. I entreat you also to be careful, that neither favour nor hatred have any influence upon your judgments in civil processes; and to take care that neither fraud, solicitations, nor any other oblique means have any influence against right and just reason. Should you be tempted to support the bad cause through interest, resist it vigorously; considering him who hath raised you to this dignity, and asking of him the succours of his Holy Spirit. Finally, as I have been the subject of many weaknesses and imperfections, which I confess before God, and before his holy angels, and before you, highly honoured seigneurs, I once more beseech you to excuse and pardon them."

Having finished this discourse, he besought God to load them with his favours, and to conduct them by his Holy Spirit, for the advantage of the republic; and having shaken hands with them all, bade them farewell; the seigneurs, who considered him their common father, could not separate from him without tears, or without discovering the deepest distress.

On the 28th of April, all the ministers of the town, and those of the country, being assembled in his room, according to his desire, he addressed them in the following discourse: "I exhort you, my brethren, to discover after my death, the same zeal in the exercise of your charge, which you have hitherto shewn; and never to lose courage: being persuaded that the Lord will defend this church, and this republic from all the dangers with which they are threatened. Suffer not divisions and enmities ever to destroy that mutual charity which ought to reign amongst you. Think continually of what you owe to the flocks of which you are the pastors; and let nothing separate you from them. I know that those who wish to desert them will not want pretexts to colour their infidelity; but a fatal experience will one day convince them, that the Lord cannot be mocked.

"When I first arrived in this city, the gospel was indeed preached, but disorder and confusion were so universal, that every body made christianity to consist in the overthrow of the laws; and I suffered many indignities from several base persons, whose insolence I endeavoured to repress. However, though naturally extremely timid, God banished from my heart all fear, and gave me so firm and intrepid a courage, that I resisted all the attempts of the wicked, and was invincible to all their attacks.

"When I returned from Strasbourg, I confess that it was with extreme reluctance, that I yielded to the earnest prayers of this church; because I thought that all my cares would produce no fruit. For I was ignorant of the designs of Divine Providence; and I perceived that I was engaging in an enterprize full of difficulties, which to me, appeared insurmountable. But, having begun this holy work, and continuing to apply to it all my exertions, I found at length, that God poured his benedictions upon my labour.

"Persist then constantly in the vocation with which you are called; preserve the order and the rules which are observed in this church: do all that depends upon you to retain this people in their duty; for you are not ignorant of the great number of the wicked and the rebellious. You perceive that this church is not now in a low condition; and you will draw upon yourselves the judgments of God, if it should ever be destroyed by your negligence. Finally, I declare to you, my brethren, that I have always been united to you by a sincere friendship; that if during this affliction you have felt any effects of my grief, I entreat your pardon, and return you a thousand thanks for having borne with my defects so long a time."

Calvin having been informed by a letter from Farel, that though he was eighty-four years of age, and loaded with infirmities, he had resolved to visit him; he replied, "I wish you perfect health, my very dear brother, and since God intends you should remain in this world after me, remember ever our union, which hath produced so many advantages to the church, and the fruit of which we shall gather in heaven.

"I beg, however, that you would not on my account expose yourself to the fatigue of a journey. My respiration is difficult, and I am about to breathe the last gasp, happy to live and die in Jesus Christ, who is gain to all his children in life and in death; I bid you, and all my brethren, my last adieu.

"*At Geneva, May* 2, 1564."

This letter did not, however, prevent the venerable old man from paying his last attentions to Calvin; after having seen and conversed with him, he returned the next day to Neufchatel.

From this time to the period of his death he was incessantly employed in prayer to God. It was, indeed, in a low voice, interrupted by a shortness of breath, with which he was oppressed; but his sparkling eyes, constantly directed towards heaven, and the serenity of his countenance, discovered the ardour of his petitions, and his confidence in the mercy of God. In his most violent pains he frequently repeated those words of David; "I was dumb, Lord, because thou didst it." And sometimes those of Isaiah; "I mourn like the dove." And frequently, lifting up his heart to God, he would exclaim, "Lord thou bruisest me, but I suffer with patience, since it is thy hand that hath done it."

To admit all the persons who wished to express their regret at the prospect of losing him, the door of his chamber must have been open night and day. But as he spoke with difficulty, he requested that his friends would be contented to pray to God for him, and spare themselves the trouble of visiting him. On being visited by his intimate and highly valued friend, Beza, he informed him, that he made it a matter of conscience not to divert him in the smallest degree from the duties of his charge, so much had he the interests of the church, and the glory of God, at heart. In this state he continued until the 19th of May, exhibiting a perfect resignation, and comforting his friends. And, as on this day they were accustomed to partake of a meal together, in token of their intimate friendship, he was anxious that they should sup in the hall of his house; and being carried thither from his chamber, he made use of these words on entering: "I am come to see you, my brethren, and to seat myself at table with you for the last time." He then offered up the usual prayer, ate a little, and discoursed in a manner worthy of his piety, and of his zeal; and when his weakness obliged him to retire to his chamber, looking at the company with a smile, "This wall," said he, "will not prevent my being united with you in spirit."

What he had predicted happened; for until this day, however weak, he had never failed to rise, and to be placed before his table. But after this night he remained confined to his bed, so thin and exhausted, that breath only remained, though his face was not much altered.

On the day of his death, which was the 24th of May, he appeared to speak with less difficulty, and more strength. But it was the last effort of nature. About eight o'clock in the evening, the signs of death appeared suddenly in his face; he continued speaking, however, with great propriety, until his last breath, when he appeared rather to fall asleep than die.

Thus was this great light of the protestant church extinguished. On the day following, the whole city was plunged into the most inconceivable grief. For the republic regretted the wisest of its citizens; the church its faithful pastor; the school its incomparable master; and all bewailed their common father, the source of their joy and consolation. Many ran in crowds to his room, and could scarcely be persuaded to separate themselves from his body. There were also several strangers, and amongst them, the ambassador of England, whom the reputation of this great man had drawn to Geneva; who, not having been able to see him living, earnestly entreated to see his remains; their request was immediately complied with.

But to avoid the calumnies of the enemies of the church, by thus satisfying univeral curiosity; on the day following, which was Sunday, about eight o'clock in the morning, his body was covered and enclosed in a wooden coffin, and at two o'clock in the afternoon he was conveyed, without any pomp, to the common burying place, called Plein Palais. All the seigneurs, ministers, and professors, and almost all the inhabitants of the town, attended at the funeral ceremony with expressions of the deepest grief. No inscription was put upon his tomb, because he had expressly forbidden it; but an epitaph was written by Beza, at once simple and expressive, and which is thus literally rendered:

The terror of Rome, and of vice,
Which still dreads his virtue,
Here lies the illustrious CALVIN;
While the good bless,
The wicked tremble at him.

Chaste humility, his faithful companion,
Furnished the model
Of this humble monument,
Without pomp or ornament.

If the curiosity which conducted thee hither,
Meets with nothing gratifying,
Know, traveller, that a name so venerable,
Enriches more a tomb,
Than marble of the highest polish.*

Calvin was fifty-four years old when he died, half of which time he spent in the labours of the ministry. He was of the middle size, a pale face, brown complexion, and brilliant eyes, which announced the penetration and vivacity of his mind. Neat and modest in his habits, as well as moderate in his eating, he had no less horror of luxury than of impurity. He ate, indeed, so little, that during several years he partook of only one meal a day, on account of the weakness of his stomach. He slept but little. His memory was so tenacious, that he remembered persons whom he had only seen once, after the lapse of a considerable time; nor did he ever forget the smallest thing connected with his charge, though oppressed with innumerable occupations. Whilst he was engaged in composing any work, though interrupted by important duties for several hours, he would resume his work, without reading again what he had already written. He was so prudent and judicious, that no person ever repented having followed his advice. Though his manners were grave and serious, his conversation was remarkably sweet and interesting. He bore with the defects of others with admirable prudence; for, as on the one hand he never oppressed the consciences of weak persons with terror, or threw them into confusion by censures too severe; so on the other hand, he never encouraged sinners in their vices, by excusing or flattering them. A friend to truth, sincerity, and candour, especially in religious concerns, he was the declared enemy of dissimulation and obstinacy.

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* Cy git Calvin, ce grand homme,
Qui fut la terreur de Rome.
Le vice presque abbatu,
Redoute encore sa vertu.
Les gens de bien la benissent;
Et les méchans en fremissent.

De ce chètif monument
Sans pompe, & sans ornement,
La sainte humilité, sa compagne fidelle,
A fourni le modele.
Si le desir curieux
Qui te conduit en ces lieux
N'y voit rien de remarquable
Scache, passant, qu'un nom si venerable,
Enrichit mieux un tombeau,
Que le marbre le plus beau.

Being of a bilious habit he was easily excited to choler, a susceptibility considerably increased by a studious and laborious life. He had, however, learned to moderate it so effectually, that he never used any expressions unworthy of a pious man; nor was any thing capable of moving him but the conduct of rebellious and undisciplined persons.

No person could be more disinterested than Calvin: his goods, his books, and his money did not produce the sum of one hundred and twenty-five crowns; he, however, refused, during his sickness, twenty-five crowns, which the council wished to present him with; as well as the share of emoluments due to him; he thought he ought not to receive them, because he was incapable of fulfilling the duties of his appointments.

Calvin gave many proofs of his attachment to Geneva; his life, principally devoted to the good of that republic, was a perpetual demonstration of it; but he furnished a peculiar and striking instance of it in the month of May 1559, when a siege was apprehended; every body worked in repairing the fortifications of the town; the professors of the academy, the pastors, as well as literary characters, after the example of Calvin, undertook to complete one of the bastions of the place.

Though Calvin was sufficiently attached to his own opinions, he respected those of others;

and though fixed in his sentiments, he knew how to esteem and commend those who did not hold, and even those who condemned them. It is well known that he was thoroughly decided on predestination, grace, and the sacraments; he, however, translated into French, the *Sum of Theology,* by Melancthon, in 1546, and had it republished in 1551. Yet Melancthon was considerably more reserved than Calvin on the first article; and called absolution a sacrament. Calvin, notwithstanding, wrote a preface for that work, and acknowledged in it, that Melancthon had said all that was necessary to salvation, and that he had only omitted what persons may be ignorant of without danger; he even described with energy the disputes so ill managed on those subjects, saying, that " They were perplexed and confused, and produced no fruit of profitable instruction." He concluded his reflections, which were just, by a handsome eulogy on Melancthon, and exhorted his readers to imitate that great man in moderation, docility, and piety.

The above instance will be considered by the impartial reader, as characteristic of a great and liberal mind. The importance of unity of sentiment with regard to the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, can never be too earnestly maintained; but it becomes every man to examine whether in the distribution of importance to particular truths, his decision be in unison with scripture authority and example: or, in other words, whether he regulate the importance of every article, not by the rank assigned to it in his particular system, but by the relative importance which it occupies in the holy scriptures. The truths, which, in the New Testament are represented as important to be believed in order to salvation, are few and obvious, and easily distinguished from what may with propriety be denominated speculative theology. An attention to this simple distinction would prevent numerous mistakes and disputes, the general effect of which is equally injurious and disgusting. Uniformity of sentiment on the subordinate points of religion, is plainly impossible, from the state of society, nor will the chimera ever be pursued by any but fanatical bigots, or interested communities. Truth is the friend of Christ, but we should ever remember, that his sheep are also dear to him. If in defending our doctrines, we abandon moderation and christian charity, we shall convey an impression that they are incompatible with zeal for truth, though it is their union alone which constitutes the true christian.*

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* "Men may differ from each other in many religious opinions, and yet all may retain the essentials of *Christianity;* men may sometimes eagerly dispute, and yet not differ much

A remarkable and pleasing trait in the character of Calvin must not be omitted: Bucer loudly blamed the vehemence of Calvin; Calvin knew it; he wrote to him expressly to acknowledge his fault. "My struggles are not greater," said he, "against my vices, which are very great, and numerous, than against my impatience; and my efforts are not wholly useless; I have not, however, yet been able to conquer that ferocious animal."—"What modesty!" says Vossius.*

It is important to remark, that the consideration which Calvin enjoyed in Geneva, did not place him above the laws. His works were liable to the same censure as those of other writers, and he was frequently compelled to correct them in the manner thought most desirable. Does not this clearly prove, that Calvin, instead of directing despotically the opinions of his superiors and his equals, often sacrificed his own to those which were prescribed to him?

from one another: the rigorous persecutors of error, should, therefore, enlighten their zeal with knowledge, and temper their orthodoxy with *charity*, that *charity*, without which orthodoxy is vain; *charity* that *thinketh no evil* but *hopeth all things*, and *endureth all things*."

Dr. Samuel Johnson. Life of Sir Thomas Browne, p. 58.

* Epist. præstant Theol. p. 817.

M. Gaillard, an historian distinguished for accuracy and eloquence, attributes to Calvin the wars which religion gave rise to in France: but of this he furnishes no proof; on the contrary, it is certain that he sought peace with ardour; that he would have established it universally; that he exhorted all those who attempted to interrupt it; that he wrote in the same strain to all who consulted him; and that he solicited money of the German princes for the persecuted protestants in France; his correspondence, printed, and in manuscript, leaves no doubt with respect to his pacific intentions.

We have already seen that he was zealous and indefatigable in the pursuit of truth; active and courageous in the propagation of it; pure in his morals, correct in his conduct, and disinterested in all his actions. Superior to trifling considerations of vanity, he despised luxury, honours, and pleasures; his vices arose out of the extremity of his virtues: he instantly became indignant whenever he saw truth and piety prostrated at the feet of the wicked: an enemy of all dissimulation, he expressed himself with frankness; and as he was naturally violent, his manner was harsh and painful; but he never spared *himself:* he acknowledged his faults; he displayed them unveiled, and frequently treated himself with the same severity which he shewed to others. It is certain that if Calvin did not gain the friendship of all who knew him, he at least commanded their esteem.

In the ecclesiastical history of M. L'Abbé Berault De Bercastel; it appears that, that historian has assembled whatever can be imagined of an atrocious nature, to render the character of a great man odious, whom he did not know; to calumniate those virtues which he could not dispute; and to lower those talents which he was compelled to admit. But it is not difficult to account for the Reformer not being a favourite of the Abbé.

Calvin surpassed all the leaders of his day, by his superior intellect: he was even the reformer of the Romish church, which he induced to suppress many crying abuses, authorized by her silence: he contributed to deliver mankind from the yoke of superstition, and to give them just views of despotism over conscience: by forcing the clergy to study and to reason, he favoured the progress of science and philosophy. But it was in Geneva, especially, that he unfolded the energy of his soul; where he was at once the light of the church, the oracle of the laws, the support of liberty, the restorer of morals, the fountain of literature and of the sciences. To him the Genevese are indebted for the virtues which have so long rendered them celebrated, and the sciences which they cultivate with so much success. To the composition of the edicts, civil and political, which have ensured the prosperity of the republic during so many years, he devoted much of his time; so that Montesquieu has remarked with propriety, that, "The Genevese ought to bless the moment of the birth of Calvin, and that of his arrival within the walls of Geneva."

Calvin was acquainted with all the great men of his age, who were distinguished either by their rank, or the part which they were then acting in Europe; as is evident from the large collection of his letters in the library of Geneva; from those which are found in the library of the King of France, under the numbers 8585, and 8586, of the Latin manuscripts; as well as from the manuscripts of M. Dupuy, No. 102; there are also a great number in the library of the Duc de Saxe Gotha; they were afterwards collected by Theodore de Beza, who sold them with his library to George De Zastrissel. Those which are printed are very generally known, and there are few libraries without some of them.

It has frequently been asked, why Calvin was usually styled Maitre Jehan Calvin?* It has been thought that he took this title as doctor in law; others suppose he was called so, according to the Swiss custom, by which the pastors are presented to the people by the title of Master or Doctor; but then all the ministers who had studied in law, would have adopted the same honour, this usage, however, was not adopted by the colleagues and successors of Calvin.

It is not to be wondered at, that so many good qualities and great virtues excited so many enemies, if we reflect, not only upon sacred, but upon profane history, and consider the adventures of the most famous heroes of pagan antiquity. Nor will it be thought strange, that so valiant a defender of holy doctrine, a man who had so extreme an horror of vice, and so ardent a love of virtue, should be attacked so vigorously by enemies from without and from within.

Calvin was accused of being a *heretic*; but was not Jesus Christ treated in the same manner by the Jewish priests? He was banished from Geneva, but he was afterwards recalled. And though this had not been the case, did not the apostles, St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostom, suffer the same treatment? Other attempts were made to blacken his reputation by various calumnies. He has been accused of being ambitious, and of attempting to play the pope, amongst those of his own persuasion. What! shall he be accused of ambition who chose for his sphere of action, the republic and the church of Geneva, which may justly be called the seat of poverty! Shall it be said that he was avaricious! he whose effects, after having even sold his library at a high rate, did not produce three hundred crowns? In order to refute this calumny, "My death," said he, with great justness, "will shew how much they are deceived, who persuade themselves that I am rich."

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* Master John Calvin.

An instance of *disinterestedness* which does equal honour to his moral and religious character, and amply refutes the absurd charges of ambition and avarice, which have been brought against him, deserves to be generally known. It was related at Geneva, by Deodati, to the first Lord Orrery, who flourished under the reign of Charles I.

"Eckius being sent by the pope, legate into France, upon his return resolved to take Geneva in his way, on purpose to see Calvin;

and if occasion were, to attempt reducing him to the Roman church. Therefore, when Eckius was come within a league of Geneva, he left his retinue there, and went, accompanied but with one man, to the city, in the forenoon. Setting up his horses at an inn, he enquired where Calvin lived; whose house being shewn him, he knocked at the door; and Calvin himself came to open it to him. Eckius inquiring for Mr. Calvin, he was told he was the person. Eckius acquainted him that he was a stranger; and having heard much of his fame was come to wait upon him. Calvin invited him to come in; and he entered the house with him; where, discoursing of many things concerning religion, Eckius perceived Calvin to be an ingenuous learned man, and desired to know if he had not a garden to walk in: to which Calvin replying he had, they both went into it; and there Eckius began to inquire of him, why he left the Roman church; and offered him some arguments to persuade him to return; but Calvin could by no means be persuaded to think of it. At last, Eckius told him that he would put his life in his hands; and then said he was Eckius, the pope's legate. At this discovery, Calvin was not a little surprized; and begged his pardon that he had not treated him with the respect which was due to his quality.

Eckius returned the compliment; and told him if he would come back to the Roman church, he would certainly procure for him a cardinal's cap. But Calvin was not to be moved by such an offer. Eckius then asked him what revenue he had; he told the cardinal he had that house and garden, and fifty livres per annum, beside an annual present of some wine and corn, on which he lived very contentedly. Eckius told him, that a man of his parts deserved a greater revenue; and then renewed his invitation to come over to the Romish church, promising him a better stipend if he would. But Calvin, giving him thanks, assured him he was well satisfied with his condition. About this time, dinner was ready, when he entertained his guest as well as he could, excused the defects of it, and paid him great respect. Eckius, after dinner, desired to know if he might not be admitted to see the church, which anciently was the cathedral of that city. Calvin very readily answered that he might; accordingly, he sent to the officers to be ready with the keys, and desired some of the syndics to be there present, not acquainting them who the stranger was. As soon, therefore, as it was convenient, they both went towards the church; and as Eckius was coming out of Calvin's house, he drew out a purse, with about one hundred pistoles, and presented it to Calvin;

but Calvin desired to be excused: Eckius told him he gave it to buy books, as well as to express his respect for him. Calvin, with much regret, took the purse: and they proceeded to the church, where the syndics and officers waited upon them; at the sight of whom, Eckius thought he had been betrayed, and whispered his thoughts in the ear of Calvin, who assured him of his safety. Thereupon they went into the church; and Eckius having seen all, told Calvin he did not expect to find things in so decent an order, having been told to the contrary. After having taken a full view of every thing, Eckius was returning out of the church; but Calvin stopped him a little, and calling the syndics and officers together, took out the purse of gold which Eckius had given him, telling them that he had received that gold from this worthy stranger, and that now he gave it to the poor; and so put it all into the poor-box that was kept there. The syndics thanked the stranger; and Eckius admired the charity and modesty of Calvin. When they were come out of the church, Calvin invited Eckius again to his house; but he replied that he must depart; so thanking him for all his civilities, offered to take his leave. But Calvin waited upon him to the inn, and walked with him a mile out of the territories of Geneva, where, with great compliments, they took a farewell of each other."*

With regard to *idleness,* of which he has been accused, it is only necessary to glance at his works, to be convinced that no slander was ever more barefaced.

Dr. Hoyle, who wrote under the patronage of Archbishop Usher, mentioning Calvin, says, "What shall I speak of his indefatigable industry, almost beyond the power of nature; which, paralleled with our loitering, will, I fear, exceed all credit? It may be the truest object of admiration, how one lean, worn, spent, and wearied body could hold out. He read, every week of the year through, three divinity lectures; every other week, over and above, he preached every day: so that (as Erasmus said of Chrysostom) I know not whether more to admire his constancy, or theirs that heard him. Some have reckoned his yearly lectures to be *one hundred and eighty-six,* and his yearly sermons *two hundred and eighty-six.* Every Thursday he sate in the presbytery. Every Friday, when the ministers met to consult upon difficult texts, he made as good as a lecture. Besides all this, there was scarce a day that exercised him not in answering, either by word of mouth or writing, the doubts and questions of different churches and pastors, yea, sometimes more at once; so that he might say with Paul—*the care of all the churches lieth upon me.* Scarcely a year past wherein, over and above all these former employments, some great volume in folio, or other, came not forth."*

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* See the State Letters and Memoirs of the Right Hon. Roger Boyle, p. 4, 5.

A striking instance of the placability of Calvin, is too interesting to be suppressed. His piercing eye had unmasked the hypocrite, Troillet; he had also deprived him of the ministerial character to which he aspired. But when the sources of life exhausted in Troillet, had weakened his hatred, and he perceived death approaching with slow and certain steps, he wished to be reconciled, and sent for Calvin, who ran to him, forgave him, comforted him, and received his last adieu, which was one of gratitude.

The last moments of Calvin, were, perhaps, the finest of his life; he bade farewell to the republic like a father, who is about to leave a beloved family: to its chiefs, to all its citizens, he gave wise counsels; he anticipated the regrets which his death was about to occasion; and saw the tears which it would cause to flow. His tomb was simple, and without distinction; but he was honoured with the mourning of the country which had adopted him. She owed indeed to him, in part, her liberty and her happiness: his inflexible severity repressed licentiousness, and established virtue, without which, the wisest laws speak in vain; he also revived internal union, which enabled them to defend themselves against the common enemy. If the *man* may sometimes blame him, the *citizen* ought ever to bless him.

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* Biographia Evangelica, Vol. ii. p. 57.

The just and eloquent character given of the illustrious subject of these Memoirs, by Alexandre Morus, rector of the academy of Geneva, shall close the account.

"As the sun when he arises with a glorious light, extinguishes by his presence all the stars which, during the darkness of the night, held the empire of the heavens in the absence of that great luminary, and scattered, though feebly, the grateful light which they had borrowed from him; thus, when the sun of righteousness appears in the beauty of his divine rays, he extinguishes by his infinite lustre, all those lesser lights of the saints with which the church is adorned on earth. Not that he deprives them of the rank which they hold in the heavens, but they are incapable of appearing in his presence. That divine sun reigns alone in the majesty of day, but the men whom he has sanctified by his grace, fail not to keep their station in the night. And we ought to contemplate them who live in this age of darkness, and to consider them as stars, which shed light to guide our steps into the way which leads to a blessed immortality. Let us, however, be upon our guard, lest we offer an insult to the sun of righteousness, by comparing with him those inferior lights which we see darken, disappear, and die away in his presence. Let us ever recollect, that whatever fire or light holy souls possess is derived from that eternal sun, and contemplate *God,* rather than man, in those great personages who edify the church. I have thought it necessary, gentlemen, to use this precaution, especially on this day, in which I am about to pourtray that bright star whose rising has restored to us *light after darkness*; I mean John Calvin, an illustrious personage, if ever there existed one; whose memory deserves to be had in perpetual veneration. I am about to represent to you, the great wonders which *God* has accomplished by his ministry. As you have honoured this assembly with your personal attendance, give me also the attention of your mind. I beseech you, inhabitants of Geneva, since your own interests are involved. I entreat you, noble and illustrious strangers, since I am about to address you on the interests of God, and the great things which he hath done to promote his glory.

"I have often considered, that as we cannot, without criminality, make the greatest of men the companions and colleagues of Jesus Christ; so it is necessary, on the other hand, to guard against the opposite extreme, of burying their memory in an eternal oblivion. This would be to despise the rich inheritance of their pains and labours which we enjoy; and to bury their name in silence, without testifying our gratitude by the slightest remembrance. I therefore conjure you, my illustrious hearers, with all the ardour which I possess, and to the full extent which religion will permit, to venerate the name of the great Calvin: let him live in your remembrance, let him inflame your hearts; let him be revered in the senate; let him be honoured in the church; let your academy and your schools crown him daily with fresh praises and applauses; let your citizens have his triumphs continually in their mouths; let your youth respect him; let his memory, victorious over calumny, be venerated by the whole earth; let him descend from our children to their children's children, to the most remote posterity, that future ages may celebrate with immortal praises the precious recollection of the greatest man, whom Providence ever raised up to relieve the church of Geneva.

"Your ancestors, however, have not erected statues to him in your public places, nor built a chapel to his honour, nor raised a monument to his memory. So little consideration did they pay to his remains, that they contented themselves with simply throwing earth upon his body, and with so little distinction from their common practice, that we now seek in vain for the spot where his bones rest; a little moss and turf serving him for a mausoleum. Those wise men judged correctly, that, extaordinary virtue (to speak according to the ancients) consecrated itself by its own merit, which renders it sufficiently venerable, without any addition. It despises foreign ornaments, and requires no attire but its own. In a word, the proper recompense which is due to him, is not to engrave his image upon marble or brass, and then to place it upon some superb edifice, as a magnificent theatre; but to impress it deeply upon the hearts of men, with sentiments of profound and pious veneration, and to hear his just praises celebrated in every age. For this reason they were not willing to honour the ashes of Calvin with those splendid attentions, of which ambition is so profuse with respect to others.

"Let us, however, always remember, that the best and most solid praise which we can possibly bestow, consists in imitating him whom we praise. Thus, let not those who hear me this day, be satisfied with simply forming an abstract idea of this man of God; let them represent this model in the actions of their lives; let them not so much stop at the person of Calvin, or the picture which they have drawn of him, as to be prevented from contemplating the Original, Jesus Christ, to whom we are bound to refer the whole glory of our discourse.

"Recall, I entreat you, my illustrious auditors, to your remembrance, the great and extraordinary labours which exercised the indefatigable spirit of our Hercules, and left him scarcely a single moment of repose, though his pale and meagre body pleaded loudly for relaxation. What the most robust of men would not have dared to undertake in an age, that great genius happily executed in a few years; though the state of his health condemned him frequently to languish on a bed of infirmity. It has therefore been a subject of surprize to many persons, that, during the short time which God lent him to the world, he should have written and published so great a number of works, so voluminous, and on so great a variety of subjects. But if those persons would consider, not so much the number and size of his works, as the solidity and erudition, the choice and arrangement of subjects, the beauty and purity of language, and other excellent qualities which appear in every line of his works; they would be less surprised that he has written so much, than that he has written so well. Besides which, if those persons would pay attention, not so much to the extraordinary things which he has written, as to those which he has done, they would perceive that his great soul, overwhelmed with a multiplicity of concerns, which followed each other like waves of the sea, knew no other relief from his labours, than a change of occupation.

"Let them farther contemplate the storm of persecutions which assailed him, and those atrocious calumnies which constantly pursued him, and I doubt not that they will rise from simple admiration, into wonder. For where is the Argus (if I may be permitted to borrow names from heathen fables), who is alone equal to so great a variety of occupations? Who could alone arrange them with so much wisdom, and execute them with so much success. How many modern Augean stables has he not cleansed? What Centaurs has he not overthrown? How extraordinary then must it appear, that the same person who assisted with so much assiduity, at the holy assemblies appointed for the decision of ecclesiastical affairs, and the examination of the doctrine of the preachers, should be constantly present in the Consistories, established for the regulation of morals?—preach daily in the temple?—teach daily in the school?—be consulted at all times on the necessities of the republic?—receive and entertain a crowd of visitors, from whom his house was scarcely ever free?—and be under the necessity of sending every day various dispatches to all the countries of Christendom?

" *We* may, indeed, form a better conception of it than others. *We,* who sail in the same vessel; *we,* whose hand is upon the same rudder; *we,* who sustaining at the most, only a hundredth part of the weight of his labour, seek companions to share it with us. *We,* who notwithstanding this relief, complain continually of the weight of the burden which oppresses *us.* This certainly arises from our not possessing either his shoulders or his strength. Would to God that we might at least imitate his ardour, his application, and his diligence! For what is there so difficult, that a great assiduity will not overcome? What obstacles is it not capable of surmounting? *We* are called studious, but, compared with him, we are idle. I have myself been attached to study through life (if I may be permitted to speak of myself). I am occupied exclusively with the functions of my charge. I add a good part of the night to the labours of the day; and without wishing for other praises, I dare to pretend to that of *diligent.* Notwithstanding this, whenever I think of Calvin, I confess that I am ashamed of my idleness, and blush at possessing a mind so ingenious in flattering my negligence. Calvin certainly had not chosen without reason, those expressive words which formed his device; *Sincerely and Promptly.* We may, perhaps, have another opportunity to speak of the first. It is sufficient for our present subject to remark now, that he has shewn us the second in its highest perfection, in that wonderful promptitude, and incredible diligence which he discovered in all his actions.

"Considering these things, can it be said that Calvin lived only a short time, when all the time that he lived may, with the strictest propriety, be called life? For neither ambition, avarice, voluptuousness, nor idleness, which rob men of their best days, shared any part of his life. Even sleep interrupted him but little, the other necessities of the body still less. He lived longer than those persons who pass a long succession of years, either in doing nothing, or in acting contrary to their duty. He lived longer than those who, in a soft and shameful idleness, rather squander than use life. These sort of people die long before their last day. He lived a longer life than those who pass their eighty or hundred years in eating, drinking, and sleeping, without study, but not without vice; and who may be said to be dead and buried while they are alive. What advantage I ask, do they derive from so many years passed in slothfulness and effeminacy? Life is long when it is husbanded and improved. It must be measured by action, and not by time. It is to be valued by its weight, and not by its duration. For, indeed, a single day of the life of a wise man who fears God, is of more value than the lengthened life of an ignorant and vicious man. Calvin, therefore, lived a long time, though he was taken from the world in the midst of his course, since he never suffered a single hour to escape unemployed; but possessed the address of extending the narrow boundaries which God had allotted him, and of arresting the course of what is, in its own nature, the most rapid of all things.

"We have, therefore, in the person of Calvin, a rich model, not only of a profound and sublime knowledge of divine mysteries, and an inimitable beauty of composition, but also of assiduous labour and prodigious diligence.

"Nor could he behold, without the most lively grief, the vices of his flock, any more than he could permit them in himself. 'If 'you desire,' said he, 'to have me for your 'pastor, correct the disorders of your lives. If 'you have with sincerity recalled me from my 'exile, banish the crimes and debauchery which 'prevail amongst you. I certainly cannot be'hold, without the most painful displeasure, 'within your walls discipline trodden under foot, 'and crimes committed with impunity. I can'not possibly live in a place so grossly immoral. 'Vicious souls are too filthy to receive the 'purity of the gospel, and the spiritual worship 'which I preach to you. A life stained with 'sin is too contrary to Jesus Christ to be 'tolerated. I consider the principal enemies of 'the gospel to be, not the Pontiff of Rome, nor 'heretics, nor seducers, nor tyrants, but such

‘ bad christians; because the former exert their ‘ rage out of the church, while drunkenness, ‘ luxury, perjury, blasphemy, impurity, adul- ‘ tery, and other abominable vices overthrow my ‘ doctrine and expose it defenceless to the rage ‘ of our enemies. Rome does not constitute the ‘ principal object of my fears. Still less am ‘ I apprehensive from the almost infinite multi- ‘ tude of monks. The gates of hell, the princi- ‘ palities and powers of evil spirits, disturb me ‘ not at all. I tremble on account of other ‘ enemies, more dangerous; and I dread abund- ‘ antly more, those carnal covetousnesses, those ‘ debaucheries of the tavern, of the brothel, and ‘ of gaming; those infamous remains of ancient ‘ superstition, those mortal pests, the disgrace ‘ of your town, and the shame of the reformed ‘ name. Of what importance is it to have ‘ driven away the wolves from the fold, if the ‘ pest ravage the flock? Of what use is a dead ‘ faith without good works? Of what im- ‘ portance even truth itself, where a wicked ‘ life belies it, and actions make words blush. ‘ Either command me to abandon a second time ‘ your town, and let me go and soften the bitter- ‘ ness of my afflictions in a new exile, or let the ‘ severity of the laws reign in the church. Re- ‘ establish there the pure discipline. Remove ‘ from within your walls, and from the frontiers ‘ of your state, the pest of your vices, and con-

'demn them to a perpetual banishment.' In these terms spake Calvin in the council, when he was recalled by the very suffrages which had banished him. A convincing proof of the extreme hatred which he bore to all descriptions of vices.

"Since, therefore, it is evident that Calvin has no equal for depth of doctrine, for eloquence, for erudition, and for diligence; since he was ever ardent in detecting, and in censuring, every kind of vice, and exemplary in practising all the virtues which he recommended; since he was never known to fail, either in sweetness of manners, or in greatness of courage under trials, or in patience while suffering under injuries; since he was ever admirable for prudence joined with charity, gravity united with affability, severity accompanied with benignity, and modesty, which seemed to dispute the victory with all his other virtues; since, finally, neither imposture, nor envy, nor Antichrist are able to oppose any thing which does not defeat itself, what remains but that we congratulate our Geneva upon her happiness in having possessed Calvin, recollecting that it is to his cares that she is principally indebted for the truth of her Latin anagram!

"Respublica Genevensis
Gens sub cœlis verè pia,*

and that it is to his labours that she is chiefly indebted for the glory of her *device*, expressed in an emblem in the middle of the name of Jesus the Sun of Righteousness,

Aprés les ténébres la lumiere,†

Abridged from another,

Aprés les tenebres, j'espere la lumiere,‡

which had been used, as if by a prophetic spirit, during the preceding ages."§

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[*] The Republic of Geneva.
A people the most pious under heaven.

[†] After darkness, light.

[‡] After darkness, I hope for light.

[§] Panegyrique De Jean Calvin prononcé a Genéve, par M. Alexandre Morus, Recteur De L'Academie.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

WRITINGS OF CALVIN.

SECTION I.

Character of Calvin as an author and commentator—Testimonies to his excellence from Papists and Protestants—Account of his Christian Institutes.

WE have already pourtrayed the subject of the present Memoirs, in the character of an illustrious reformer, and shewn the influence of his labours in promoting the revival of pure Christianity. We have seen united in his person, the most entire disinterestedness, the most ardent zeal, and active energy co-operating to the diffusion of knowledge, virtue, and happiness; it remains that we now consider him as an author, and it will be abundantly evident, that few persons have better deserved the tributary praises of posterity under this character, than Calvin.

When we consider the extent and variety of his works, the importance of the subjects, and the practical tendency of his writings, we shall be disposed to assign him a very high rank in the class of useful and important authors. Indebted to no temporary, or local circumstances for the impression and popularity of his works; their interest, uninfluenced by the fluctuation of circumstances and opinions, remains undiminished. What Dr. Johnson says with so much justice of Watts, is equally true of Calvin: "Few men have left behind such purity of character, or such monuments of laborious piety."*

His character as an author, must be ascertained from the multiplicity and variety of his works, rather than from any single performance; it would, indeed, require volumes to review all his works, which were published in Latin, at Geneva, in twelve volumes, folio.

But the most important view of the writings of Calvin, and that which is most congenial with the spirit of the present work, is rather an exhibition of his theological sentiments, than a critical review of his compositions; which, were it practicable, would, in all probability, be less interesting, and certainly less profitable.

* Johnson's Lives of the Poets. Life of Watts.

Under the investigation of Calvin's merits as an author, it would be unpardonable to omit the consideration of his style.

The dignity and majesty of his eloquence were so eminent, that those who had the greatest aversion to his pretended heresy, were constrained to admire in his writings the exact purity of the Latin tongue, and to confess that his latinity was worthy of the Augustan age. Hence, those who are willingly blind, refuse to acknowledge that the mighty energy by which he replaced Geneva under the yoke of Jesus Christ, and recalled multitudes of other people to the practice of a purer and more evangelical worship, was the effect of the finger of God, as undoubtedly it was. They ascribe it, on the contrary, to the soft and persuasive eloquence which he possessed in so eminent a degree. Thus a determined partisan of popery, has not been ashamed to use these words:

"And thou, Calvin, the scourge of the thrice
dignified kingdom,
Who in thine own language, eclipsest the
Roman name."*

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* "Et toy, Calvin, le fleau du régne a triple etage,
Qui perds le nom Romain par son propre langage."†

† Barclai.

In this verse he pretends only to praise the eloquence of Calvin: eloquence indeed! but an eloquence divine, supported by the grandeur and weight of its subjects, full of nerve and energy; an eloquence, neither gay and comic, like that with which Terrence has enriched his fables; nor stately and brilliant, like that which Virgil has employed to sing the battles and adventures of his heroes; nor delicate and artificial, like that with which Cicero enchained the Romans, fastening them to his lips; but, an eloquence like that of the apostle of nations. An eloquence by which this new Paul shook the foundations of superb Rome, and recovered from the tyranny of the Vatican, the empire of Europe. Calvin imitated St. Paul, as St. Paul imitated Jesus Christ. Animated with an apostolic spirit, he despised the flowers and brilliancies of human eloquence, and all the pompous equipage of the rhetoric of the age. His strain, flowing with soft and sober majesty, seemed to be adapted to sacred things alone.

He had already displayed some sparks of this light, when not having yet "chosen the good part," he employed some of his leisure hours, in enriching with notes, the books which Seneca has composed on Clemency, and dedicated to the most cruel of emperors. In this essay, he announced what might be expected in future. His Commentaries display a style, free, but exact, agreeable and majestic; simple and energetic, but pure and polished; modest, but rich; brilliant, but natural; deriving all its beauties from their proper sources. So that Seneca appears risen from the dead.

The vivacity and energy of his genius, are conspicuous in his attacks upon the enemies of truth. With what evidence and solidity he establishes his reasonings! How nobly he enriches his subjects, while at the same time there is neither any affectation, nor any smell of the lamp. His stream of mind appears to be perpetual; and pursues its course with equal beauty and fertility. Whoever wishes to be acquainted with the force and beauty of his style, will find an excellent specimen in his answer to Cardinal Sadolet. The dedication of his Institutes to Francis I. is also universally admired.*

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* "I have ever thought that the three celebrated Prefaces, that which the President de Thou wrote for his History, that which Casaubon has prefixed to his Polybius, and that which Calvin has addressed to Francis I. King of France, in favour of his Christian Institutes, must be considered as the masterpieces of our age. And in placing that of Calvin in the first rank, it appears to me that not only the sublimity and grandeur of the subject, but also the excellence and beauty, the force and solidity, the purity and elegance of the composition, oblige me to give it this preference."

Panegyrique De Calvin par M. Alexandre Morus.

It is no small honour to Calvin, that the circumstance of being born in the later ages of Christianity, detracts nothing from his reputation. Should we here be opposed by the names of Austin and of Chrysostom, we may safely reply, that if Calvin had been born in the age of the fathers, he would have been one of the most eminent. Abating that veneration which is excited by antiquity, our author, it is apprehended, will not suffer by a comparison with these illustrious fathers. To say nothing of the errors into which the ancient fathers have fallen, it is sufficiently evident, that with respect to an extended apprehension of the mysteries of divine truth, Calvin has surpassed them all.

Should this praise be charged with being exaggerated, we refer for a corroboration of it, to a comparative view of the writings of the respective authors. St. Chrysostom has explained the Psalms. St. Austin has also written upon them. Calvin, after them, has composed Commentaries upon them. To this comparison we refer the claims of Calvin, persuaded that every candid mind will instantly perceive the superiority of the reformer; and, that the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms is alone worth their whole works. What father of the church has left behind him so complete an explication of all the books of sacred scripture, with the exception only of the closing Book of the Revelations? "Joseph Scaliger, who scarcely thought any man worth his commending, could not forbear admiring Calvin; and he praised him, among other things, for not commenting on the Revelations; while he owned him far the happiest of all the commentators in apprehending the sense of the prophets."* And Pasquier says, "Calvin was a good writer, both in Latin and French, and our French tongue is highly obliged to him for enriching it with so great a number of fine expressions."†

The great Thuanus, in his admirable history, though a Papist, speaks highly of his eloquence. "Calvin," says he, "was endued with great acuteness and force of genius, and with a wonderful faculty of eloquence; a very celebrated divine among the Protestants."

A testimony from the judicious Hooker, highly honourable to the character and eloquence of Calvin, cannot fail to gratify those readers who are happy enough to be acquainted with his Ecclesiastical Polity; a work, which, whatever judgment may be formed with respect to its general positions, will never fail to be admired, while any taste for the sublime and beautiful in composition continues to influence the public mind. Alluding to the return of Calvin to Geneva after his exile, he remarks, "Besides, it was not unlikely but that his credit in the world might many ways stand the poor town in great stead; as the truth is, their minister's foreign estimation hath been the best stake in their hedge. But whatever secret respects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds, Calvin returned, as he had been another Tully, to his own home."

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* Bayle. † Biographia Evangelica.

In Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History the following paragraph and note are added to the original text of Mosheim, by his translator, the highly respectable editor, Dr. Maclaine. "To escape the impending storm, he retired to Basil, where he published his *Christian Institutions;* and prefixed to them that famous dedication to Francis I. which has attracted universally the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince against the Protestants."*

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* "This paragraph, relating to Calvin, is added to Dr. Mosheim's text by the translator, who was surprised to find in a History of the Reformation, such late mention made of one of its most distinguished and remarkable instruments; a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense

Salmeron has copied, in his Commentaries, several passages from Calvin, without citing or changing them. Melancthon calls Calvin *The Theologian.*

He received the praises of all the great men of his age. It is well known that Albert Pighius, who had undertaken the refutation of the Christian Institutes of Calvin, became a Calvinist in one of his principal doctrines.

Papyre Masson, a declared enemy of the Protestants, De Thou Pasquier Balzac, Stapleton, and Father Simon, consider Calvin a very learned man, and a great Theologian. Nor was he held in less veneration by the brightest ornaments of the church of England. Witness the exalted testimonies given of him by Bishop Andrews, Bishop Bilson, Mr. Hooker, Bishop Morton, Bishop Stillingfleet, and many others, cited by Dr. John Edwards, in his *Veritas Redux.*

There are many among the Roman Catholics, who would do justice to Calvin, if they durst speak their thoughts. Guy Patin has taught us to make this judgment; for he observed,

learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the reformers; all of whom he surpassed at least in learning and parts."

that "Joseph Scaliger said Calvin was the greatest wit the world had seen since the apostles. He acknowledged that no man ever understood ecclesiastical history like Calvin, who, at the age of twenty-two, was the most learned man in Europe."* It appears also, that "Scaliger preferred Calvin's Commentary on Daniel, to all others, and that he used commonly to say, *solus Calvinus in Theologicis*."† Guy Patin tells us, that "John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, used to say that Calvin was the greatest divine in Europe."

When we consider that he has written Commentaries on the whole of the scriptures, the Book of Revelations excepted, we shall easily imagine that they form by far the most considerable part of his works. These Commentaries will ever be held in esteem by impartial readers, for the elegant simplicity, impartial enquiry, and profound piety which characterise them. In a style admirably adapted and expressive, he expands without enfeebling, illustrates without lowering, and enforces without revolting the sense of the sacred text. Deeply impressed with the dignity and excellency, the divine authority and various uses of the inspired writings, he investigates their contents with a disciplined understanding, and an obedient heart. His mind revolted not at the mysterious sublimity of a doctrine, when he had evidence that it came from God. No command appears tyrannical, because he venerates the authority which enjoins it; no precept irksome, because his heart, constrained by the love of Christ, dictates the enquiry "Lord, what wouldst thou have me do?" Superior to all considerations of a party nature, his expositions are truly liberal, and he is not afraid to meet the *real* sense of a passage. Having in view nothing less than the edification of the Church Universal, his Commentaries breathe a comprehensiveness of design, resembling the liberality of the sacred writings themselves. It is not, however, to be denied, that his views on discipline and doctrine were fixed and decided; but it is equally evident that, in comparison with the general interests of genuine Christianity, he allowed himself to feel no concern about the disputed points of religion.

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* Biographia Britannica.

† Histoire Litteraire de Geneve par Jean Senebier.

It requires but little penetration to perceive that the great object of Calvin, in all his Commentaries, was the simple illustration of the sacred text. Disavowing all authority but that of the Scriptures, and calling no man Master on earth, his investigations were conducted with that spirit of free enquiry and independence, which is essential to the character and excellence of the commentator. Forming his system from the Bible, he felt no difficulty with regard to apparently conflicting passages of sacred writ; which he was not at all concerned to reconcile with a previously assumed system.

Though Calvin was extensively known and read as a Commentator, the work which did him most honour, and procured him the greatest celebrity, was his "Christian Institutions;" a work written in defence of the Protestants, and intended by its author to be a complete system of theology.

The Inquisitions at Rome, and in Spain, condemned this work: but it met with great acceptation, and has not only appeared in French, but also in High Dutch, Low Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and English. And the following celebrated distich contains the character which it bore among his contemporaries of the reformed religion.

"Præter apostolicas, post Christi tempora, chartas.
Huic peperêre libro sæcula nulla parem."*

The sentiments of Calvin being very imperfectly understood, even by Calvinists themselves, it may perhaps answer an useful purpose to lay before the public, a view of genuine Calvinism.

This object, it is apprehended, will be best accomplished, by laying before the reader some copious extracts from the "Christian Institutions," which contain an arranged statement of this Reformer's views on the doctrines and discipline of Christianity. It is a just character of this work, that nothing calculated to recommend a book, is wanting to it. The perspicuity so much required of authors, is here as great as it can possibly be. There is nothing to embarrass the reader. Every thing is explained with perfect evidence. Whether it be necessary to establish holy doctrines, or to refute error, Calvin accomplishes it with a depth and solidity, united with a vivacity and address inimitable. The comparisons which he employs are beautiful and majestic, and at the same time so lively and ingenious, that they give a palpable evidence to his explanations and persuasions. The descriptions with which his work abounds, are not less just than magnificent, always adapted to the subjects he is treating, and the situations which they occupy. His transitions are every where easy and natural.*

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* That is, "Since the ascension of Christ, no age has produced a book of equal worth, if we omit the writings of the apostles."

This incomparable work is divided into four books. The first book containing eighteen chapters, treats *Of the knowledge of God the Creator.* The second, *Of the knowledge of God as he hath declared himself our Redeemer in Jesus Christ*—seventeen chapters. The third, *Of the manner of participating of the Grace of Jesus Christ, of the fruits which we derive from it, and the effects which it produces*—twenty-five chapters. The fourth and last, treats *Of the external means or helps which God employs to invite us to Jesus Christ his Son, and to retain us in his communion*—twenty chapters.

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* Epitre Dedicatoire, par Charles Icard.

SECTION II.

On the knowledge of a God—This knowledge greatly corrupted.

On the knowledge of a God, the subject with which this incomparable work commences, we meet with the following judicious remarks: "By the knowledge of a God, I understand a knowledge which not only enables us to conceive that there is a God, but which also teaches us whatever it is important for us to know, with reference either to our own interest or to his glory. For to speak correctly, we cannot say that God is known where there is neither piety nor religion. I am not here speaking of that peculiar knowledge, by means of which, men, lost and condemned in a state of nature, are led to God, as to their Redeemer in Jesus Christ. I speak merely of that primitive and simple knowledge, to which the natural order of the world would lead us, had Adam continued in his integrity. For although in this universal wreck of human nature, no person knows God, either as a father, or as the author of salvation, or in any sense propitious, or appeased, unless Jesus Christ intervene as Mediator to render him favourable to us, and to reconcile us to him; nevertheless, to know God as our Creator, and as that being who sustains us by his influence, who governs us by his providence, who preserves us by his goodness, and who loads us with his blessings; to know him, I say, thus, is a very different thing from embracing the blessing of reconciliation, as it is offered to us through Jesus Christ in the gospel.

" And as our mind is incapable of rising to the knowledge of a God, without ascribing to him some kind of worship, it is not, however, sufficient to know in general, that it is he alone who deserves to be adored and served, if we are not besides firmly persuaded that he is the source of all good, so as not to seek any thing separately from him. Thus, I think that we ought not only to believe that God, having created the world, sustains it by his power, rules it by his wisdom, preserves it by his goodness, and is especially engaged in governing the human race with equity, in supporting them by his mercy, in taking them under his protection; but we must also be persuaded that there is not a single spark of light, of wisdom, of justice, of power, of rectitude, or of truth to be found any where but in him, or proceeding from him, and of which he is not the cause. Which should instruct us to expect them all from him alone, to solicit them all at his hands, and to return him our unfeigned thanks when we have received them. I consider piety as a mingled reverence and love of God, to which we are led by a knowledge of the favour which we have received from him. If men do not, indeed, feel and acknowledge that they owe every thing to God, that they are tenderly preserved by his paternal care, and that he is the author of all good, so that they need not seek any thing out of him; if they do not make all their felicity to consist in him alone, they will never render him a willing obedience, nor will they ever frankly and heartily submit to render unto him the service which is his due."*

How differently is this interesting subject here treated, from the manner in which philosophers have speculated upon the being and perfections of a God. For this pre-eminence in clearness and interest, our author was certainly indebted to revelation, an authority to which he bowed with the most implicit reverence, and a source of information which has enlightened and enriched the christian world with knowledge on subjects of the last importance to the present and perpetual interests of mankind.

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* Instit. lib. i. cap. 2.

That the knowledge of a God is naturally imprinted in the mind of man, is maintained by our author, in the following words: "Lest any should cloak themselves under a vain pretext of ignorance, God hath engraved on the hearts of all men, some knowledge of himself, with which he continually refreshes the memory by new sparks of light, which he causes to shine there from time to time; that all men, without exception, may be condemned by their own testimony, for not having honoured and served him by consecrating their lives in obedience to him. If ignorance of a God were any where to be found, we should naturally expect to meet with it amongst those barbarous nations, entirely removed from honesty, from civilization, and from humanity itself; nor could we produce an example more appropriate or precise. However, as Cicero, that ancient Pagan author, so celebrated for his eloquence, remarks, 'There is no nation so barbarous, nor any people so savage, upon whose minds it is not forcibly impressed, that there is a God.' And those who, in every thing else appear to differ in no respects from beasts, do not, however, fail to retain some seeds of religion. So extensively hath this common and natural prepossession pervaded the minds of all men.

"Thus, since from the beginning of the world there never was any country, town, or family that could dispense with religion, does it not amount to a tacit confession of the whole human race, that the belief of a Divinity is engraved on the hearts of all reasonable creatures. Idolatry itself, into which men have fallen, is an authentic testimony to this truth. For we know with what reluctance man stoops and humbles himself to place other creatures above himself. Since, then, he rather submits to serve and to adore wood and stone, than to pass for an impious person or an atheist, it follows evidently, that the impression is lively and strong, that it can never be effaced, and that it would even be easier to extinguish the most natural affections, than the sentiment of piety and of religion."*

While it is true that the excellency of an argument, or the goodness of a cause, ought never to be concluded from the numbers by which they may happen to be supported; it is nevertheless certain, that in some cases, universal consent furnishes the strongest presumptive evidence of the truth and importance of general principles. Thus, the various worship of the heathen nations, uncongenial indeed with the dictates of reason, and incompatible with the more luminous institutions of the gospel, contains an implicit acknowledgment of the responsibility of all intelligent beings, and of the existence and operation of natural conscience, which in the absence of revelation, is considered by the apostle as the present law, and future rule of judgment of the heathen. It is possible, and indeed to a high degree probable, that the rites and ceremonies of most heathen nations, owe their origin to the institutions of the Mosaic dispensation, of which they are only corruptions gradually introduced; but their adoption and continued use, as they include the recognition of a Supreme Being, and a sense of human responsibility, while they illustrate the congeniality of these truths, with the undisguised feelings of the human mind, contain also the authority of a sanction, as well as the evidence of an unsuspicious consent.

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* Instit. lib. i. cap. 3.

But while the existence of this sentiment, being universal, is too obvious to be denied, it is equally evident that it exists under a most degraded form; a truth which our author asserts in the following expressive words: "As experience shews us on the one hand that there is in the heart of all men a seed of religion, which the Divinity hath scattered there with his own hand, so it teaches us also on the other hand, that scarcely one person in a hundred encourages this divine seed in his soul, to make it germinate there. For while some are bewildered in the follies of superstition, and others abandon God with a formal design and deliberate malice, from various motives; all wander and retire from the true knowledge of him. This is also the reason why we meet with no legitimate, or well regulated piety."*

In the sixth chapter our author contends, that in order to arrive at the knowledge of God as a Creator, we must make the scriptures our guide; in illustration of which, he employs the following reasoning. "Although that light which is so universally diffused, is more than sufficient to remove every pretext for the ingratitude of men; it is, notwithstanding, necessary, that a more powerful help intervene to lead us suitably even to the Creator. It is not, therefore, in vain, that that God, in order to make himself known in a saving manner, hath added to the works of creation, the light of his word, and that he hath indulged with this prerogative, those whom he determined to treat with more familiarity than others. Having elected the Jews, in order to make of them a peculiar people consecrated to his service, he enclosed them in a fold, lest they should wander after the manner of other nations. Thus, whether God manifested himself to the ancient fathers, by means of oracles, or of heavenly visions, or employod men by whose ministry he suggested what they were to convey by tradition to their posterity, it is absolutely certain that he impressed upon their minds so firm a belief of his doctrine, that they were fully convinced, that what was revealed or preached to them, came from heaven alone. But, that his doctrine might ever continue in the world, and be maintained in its purity in all ages, he appointed that those oracles which he had from the beginning committed to the tradition of men, should be at length reduced to writing, and enclosed in the scriptures as in a sacred cabinet, in which the precious deposit might be preserved entire, in the midst of those changes and confusions which are continually taking place throughout the universe. With this view he caused his law to be published amongst the Israelites, to which he afterwards added the writings of the prophets, as so many interpretations of his will.

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* Instit, lib. i. cap. 4.

"If we consider how inconsistent and variable is the mind of man, how easily he falls into forgetfulness of God, how great is his natural inclination to embrace all sorts of errors, and how strong his passion for new and false religions, it will be evident how necessary it is that God should have public and authentic registers, in which the whole of his salutary doctrine might be contained, lest it should be either buried in forgetfulness, or overturned by error, or corrupted by the audacity of men."*

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* Instit. lib. i. cap. 6.

SECTION III.

Of the State in which Man was created.

The state in which man was originally created, is a subject which has given rise to a great variety of speculation and controversy; and it must strike every impartial person, that in the management of this interesting enquiry, barren speculation, and in some instances a tendency to levity, have been too apparent in many writers, who have, notwithstanding, professed to limit their enquiries by ultimate views of scripture authority. The manner in which our author pursues the subject, is in unison with his grand and comprehensive views of scripture truth in general. Those who study theology with a reference to practical improvement, will be gratified with the useful manner in which this great theologian treats so interesting a subject. "We must now speak," says he, "of the creation of man; First, because man is the most noble and excellent master-piece of the wisdom and goodness of God: and secondly, because, as we have already said, we can have no true and solid knowledge of the Divinity, if the knowledge of ourselves be not reciprocally connected with it. Now this knowledge of ourselves is twofold, and consists in knowing, First, the manner in which we were originally formed; and, Secondly, into what misery we fell, after the lapse of our first father. For, indeed, we should derive little advantage from our creation, if in that sad and fatal ruin into which we have precipitated ourselves, we were not to perceive the corruption and deformity of our nature. We shall, however, now consider the state of innocence in which we were created.

" Previously, however, to the examination of that miserable condition to which man is subjected by his revolt, it is essential to know what he was when first created. And here it will be proper to use caution, that in representing too minutely the natural evils of man, we do not impute them to the author of his nature. For impiety will endeavour to shelter itself under the pretext, that all evil proceeds in some manner from God. Those persons even, who wish to pass in the world for religious characters, and who speak of the Divinity in more respectful terms, attempt thus to excuse their sins. They alledge the corruption of their nature, without considering that they tarnish by this means, though in an indirect manner, the honour of God, whose glory would be covered with reproach, if in the nature which he gave originally to man there had been any vice or imperfection.

"We must, however, remark, that Adam was formed of the earth, to keep him from indulging pride, and rising above his condition. For since we inhabit houses of clay, and are but dust and ashes, how apparent is the folly of boasting of the excellency of our nature."*

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* Instit. lib. i. cap. 15.

SECTION IV.

On the Immortality of the Soul.

On the immortality of the soul, a doctrine, which, while it confers upon a future state all its interesting attractions, diminishes in proportion, the temporary and evanescent gratifications of the present state; our author uses the following just and expressive language. "That there are in man two different parts, a soul and a body, is evident beyond the smallest doubt. By the word *Soul* I understand, an immortal, but created essence, the most noble and excellent part of human nature, and which the scriptures sometimes call *Spirit.* For though these two names when joined together have a different signification, the word *spirit,* when used separately, has the same import as that of soul. As when Solomon, speaking of death, says, 'Then shall the spirit return unto God who gave it.' And Jesus Christ, by commending his spirit to God his Father, (as well as Stephen to Jesus Christ,) intends simply, that when the soul quits the prison of the body, God is its guardian and depositary.

"As to those who imagine that the soul is thus called spirit, because it is simply a breath, or a vigour divinely infused into the body, without having in itself any substance, the truth of the thing itself, and the scriptures at large, evidently shew how grossly they impose upon themselves. The conscience, by distinguishing between good and evil, corresponding to the judgment of God, furnishes a certain and infallible proof that the spirit is immortal. For how should a simple motion, without essence, penetrate even to the tribunal of God, and alarm us on account of the condemnation which we have merited? Can the body be susceptible of the fear of a spiritual punishment? Who does not perceive that such a sentiment belongs to the soul alone? From whence it follows clearly, that the soul is neither without essence, nor a particular subsistence.

"Secondly, the knowledge which we have of God, testifies that the soul which rises above the world, must be immortal. For can a feeble inspiration without subsistence, a vigour capable of becoming extinct and of vanishing, be considered as capable of rising to the source of life? Indeed, so many rare and excellent qualities, with which the human soul is ornamented, and which clearly shew that there are, I know not what characters of divinity deeply impressed upon it, are also evident testimonies of its immortality. For the instinct of brutes is limited to their bodies, or extends no farther than the objects which present themselves to their sensuality. But the activity of the human spirit, which traverses heaven and earth, penetrates into the secrets of nature, and after having embraced all the varieties of the universe in its understanding and memory, disposes each of them in its order, and according to its rank, and ascertains things future, from those which are passed, shews evidently that there is in man a secret and hidden quality distinct and different from his body. By our understanding, we conceive of God, and of angels, who are spiritual and invisible substances, which in no respect applies to the body. We distinguish what is right, just, and honest, from what is not so, which our corporal senses are incapable of; the mind must, therefore, be the seat where this intelligence resides. Even sleep itself, the emblem of death, is an express witness of the immortality of the soul. For it not only suggests thoughts and conceptions of what has never taken place, but affords also presentiments and presages of things yet to come. I briefly touch these subjects, which profane writers have set off with magnificence, and exquisite eloquence;

but it is sufficient simply to indicate them to christian readers.

"Besides which, if the soul, separated from the body, had no subsistence, the scriptures would not teach us as they do, that we dwell in houses of clay, and that man at death is unclothed of mortality, and will receive at the last day, that which is due to the good or bad actions done in the body. Now these passages, and others of the same kind, which are very numerous, not only distinguish the soul from the body, but in attributing to him the name of man in general, they also declare the soul to be the principal part. St. Paul, exhorting the faithful to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of flesh and of spirit, refers without hesitation to two subjects, in which the pollutions of sin reside. St. Peter also, calling Jesus Christ the Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, would have spoken unadvisedly if there were no souls towards whom he exercised such a function.

"What he says also of the salvation of our souls, would be ill founded, as well as what he commands us 'As strangers and pilgrims, to abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul.' The same remark applies to what we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that, pastors watch for our souls as they that must give account, which would in no respect be suitable, if souls possessed no existence proper to them.

"This is more fully and more clearly expressed in those words of Jesus Christ, in which he commands us to fear him, who, after having killed the body, is able also to cast soul and body into hell. Add to this, that, if souls delivered from the fetters of the body, had no subsistence after that separation, it is with great impropriety that Jesus Christ represents the soul of Lazarus as enjoying repose and felicity in Abraham's bosom; and on the contrary, that of the rich man as plunged in the torments of hell. But not to insist any longer upon a thing so little doubtful, I shall only add that St. Luke places it amongst the errors of the Saduceans, that they believed, that there was *no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit.*"*

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* Instit. lib. i. cap. 15.

SECTION V.

The sentiments of Calvin on the Moral Law.

THE sentiments of Calvin, with reference to the law, having in modern times been considerably perverted; it may answer a useful purpose to produce his own words on the subject; which, as they will appear decidedly opposed to the Antinomian heresy, will deprive its abettors of the sanction of his name. On the dignity and use of the law, no writer can have more just sentiments, as will fully appear by extracts from his writings on the subject.

"It will not be difficult," he observes, "to judge, to what end the law ought to be referred, which is that of a perfect righteousness; that man may take the purity and holiness of God for the rule of life. For God has so pourtrayed his nature in the law, that if any person were to accomplish all that it commands, his life would be an image of the Divinity. On which account, Moses, desirous of impressing the minds of the Israelites with the remembrance of the commandments of God, thus addresses them: ‘And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but, to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul?’ Nor did he fail to repeat the same thing whenever he wished to shew them the tendency of the law. The end, therefore, of the law, is to unite man by holiness of life to his Creator; and, as Moses in another place expresses it, to induce him to cleave unto him. The perfection of this holiness consists in two things, which have been already noticed; that we love the Lord our God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength—and our neighbour as ourselves. The first implies then, that our soul be filled with the love of God; from whence will naturally flow charity towards our neighbour. In this sense I understand the apostle, where he says, that the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned. Where we see that a good conscience and faith, that is to say, piety, and the fear of God, is placed in the first rank, from whence springs charity.

“It is, therefore, absurd to imagine that the law teaches only the rudiments of righteousness, and gives men only the first elements, without directing them to the perfection of good works; since it is not possible to desire a higher perfection than that which is comprehended in this passage of Moses, and that of St. Paul. And indeed, he who is dissatisfied with such teaching, what more excellent or more perfect aim can he have, since the instruction of the law forms man to the fear of God, to the spiritual worship of his majesty, to the observance of his precepts, to the rectitude of his justice, to the holiness of his ways, to purity of conscience, to sincerity of faith, and, indeed, to all the duties of charity. And this reason confirms the explanation which we have given, in reducing to the commandments of the law, all the duties which respect piety or charity. So that those who stop at I know not what dry and barren elements, as if the law taught the will of God only by halves, do not thoroughly understand, according to the testimony of the apostle, the end to which it refers.*

" It is easy to perceive what we ought to learn from the law; that, God being our Creator, stands related to us as our Lord and our Father; on which account we ought to render the glory, reverence, love, and fear, due unto him; that we are not at liberty to follow the wanderings of our mind, and the disorderly propensities of our hearts, wherever they would lead us; that we depend so entirely upon God, that we ought to devote ourselves exclusively to what is pleasing unto him; that righteousness and integrity are ever acceptable unto him; that, on the contrary, iniquity and injustice are held in abomination by him. So that, if we would not by an impious and profane ingratitude, revolt from our Creator, we must throughout the whole of our days, love righteousness, and apply ourselves to the performance of its duties. Nor can man excuse himself under the pretext of incompetency, and of being a miserable debtor, unable to make any payment. For it is by no means proper to measure the glory of God by the faculties of our nature; since whatever we may be, God is ever like himself, always the friend of righteousness, as he is always the enemy of iniquity. Whatever he requires of us, since he can require nothing unjust, it is evident that we are under a necessity of obeying him by a natural obligation, and that our incapability proceeds from no other cause than our vicious corruption.

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* Instit. lib. ii. cap. 8.

"When by means of the teachings of the law, we have arrived at this knowledge, we must then, under the conduct of this legal doctrine, descend into ourselves. From which we shall derive two advantages. First, by comparing the righteousness of the law with our own lives, we shall perceive that we are infinitely distant from satisfying the will of God; and that we are consequently unworthy of being of the number of his creatures, and especially of deserving to bear the glorious title of his children. Farther, by considering our powers, we shall be convinced, not only that they are insufficient to fulfil the requirements of the law, but absolutely null and incapable of such an effect. From whence proceeds necessarily a jealousy of ourselves, followed by terrible inquietudes. For, conscience is no sooner convinced of sin, than the judgment of God immediately presents itself, and the judgment of God felt, is always accompanied with a frightful horror of death. Besides, the conscience convinced of its weakness, and of the insufficiency of its forces, naturally falls into despair. From these emotions springs a profound humility and extreme alarm; so that the man dismayed at the idea of eternal death, which he sees ready to burst upon him, on account of his injustice, and his crimes; has recourse to the mercy of God alone, as to the only door of salvation; and, feeling that it is not in his power to pay what he owes to the divine law, cast down and despairing in himself, he lives only to seek elsewhere the help he stands in need of.

"But Jehovah, not satisfied with having shewn the reverence which is due to his justice, in order to inspire our hearts with love towards it, and hatred towards iniquity; has farther added to his commandments, promises and threatenings. For as the eyes of our understanding are so blinded, that the beauty of virtue alone is unable to attract them; this heavenly Father, full of bounty and of clemency, resolves according to his paternal indulgence, to lead us to desire and to love him, by the sweetness of the rewards which he proposes to us. He informs us, therefore, that he will recompense virtue; and, that he who will obey his precepts, shall not labour in vain. On the contrary, he declares not only that he execrates injustice; but that it cannot escape his vengeance, because he has resolved to punish the contempt shewn to his majesty. And to incite by all possible means, he promises to all those who shall keep his commandments, the blessings of the present life, and the eternal felicity of Paradise. But, on the other hand, he also threatens with temporal calamities, and the punishment of eternal death, those who shall have violated them. For the promise, (referring to the statutes and judgments of the Lord) "Which if a man do, he shall live in them;" and the threatening also, which answers to it, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die;" evidently belong to a death, and to future blessedness which will never end; and wherever the good-will, or the anger of the Lord is mentioned, eternal life is included in the first, and eternal perdition under the other.

"In the law we meet with a large enumeration of temporal blessings and curses. In the punishments denounced, the Lord discovers a sovereign purity; since he cannot suffer iniquity without punishing it. In the promises, besides discovering his love for justice, since he does not abandon it without satisfaction, he farther discovers in them, a wonderful indulgence and benignity. For being indebted to his majesty for all that we have, as well as for what we are, does he not with justice demand all that he requires of us, as a debt due to him. Now does the payment of such a debt deserve a reward? God, therefore, abates from his right, when he proposes any recompense for our obedience.

"With respect to the utility which the promises themselves afford us, we have already spoken in part. It will be sufficient to shew at present, that the promises of the law, in a peculiar manner recommend righteousness to us, in order to shew us with certainty, how agreeable to God is the observance of it. And that punishments, on the other hand, are placed before us in order to induce us to execrate injustice; lest the sinner, plunged in vicious pleasures, become intoxicated with their sweetness, to a forgetfulness that the judgment of the lawgiver is preparing his eternal perdition."*

Having contrasted the spiritual legislation of Jehovah, with that of human governments, and shewn the spirituality and extent of the divine law, as reaching to the thoughts of the heart, and requiring an angelic purity; our author justifies his exposition, by producing the example of Jesus Christ, as a teacher of the same sentiments. "When we say," he observes, "that the sense of the law is such, we are far from introducing an arbritrary intepretation; we only follow Jesus Christ the faithful interpreter. As the pharisees had imbued the people with the pernicious opinion, that they fulfilled the law, provided they did not violate it by external actions; the divine Saviour did not fail also to censure so dangerous an error, when he said, that to look with immodesty upon a woman, is to commit adultery; and that those who hate their brethren, are murderers. For he declares those persons liable to the punishment of the judgment, who have only conceived anger in their hearts; those, who, by murmuring, testify that they have received an offence;

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* Instit. lib. ii. cap. 8.

punishable by the council; and those who by imprecations, or by injuries openly discover their ill will, worthy of the torment of hell fire.

"Those who have not made these observations, have imagined that Jesus Christ, by preaching such a doctrine, is to be considered only as a second Moses, introducing the gospel law, to supply the deficiencies of the Mosaic. From whence springs the common maxim respecting the perfection of the evangelical law, that it is in this respect superior to what it was under the Old Testament, which is, on many accounts, a very pernicious error. The refutation of this error is sufficiently easy; because such persons have thought that Jesus Christ made some addition to the law; whereas he merely expounded it; entirely re-established it, and demonstrated its extent, by purging it from the falshoods with which the scribes and pharisees had obscured it, and from the leaven of their traditions, with which they had corrupted it."*

The above quotations from Calvin, on the subject of the moral law, sufficiently evince how remote he was from the Antinomian heresy; and how little they are acquainted with his writings, who charge them with an Antinomian tendency. That many persons calling themselves Calvinists, have carried his sentiments to an extreme, from which that holy man would have revolted with indignation, is abundantly certain; but, "Men of sense will consider that principles are not therefore to be rejected, because they have been abused."* With the exception of Antinomians, all parties are agreed in the belief of the general truth, that, "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord;" their definitions of holiness are, indeed, various, and many of them defective; but they all include a recognition of the scripture declaration of the relative importance of holiness. The Antinomian, alone, furnishes an instance of contradiction to the whole spirit of christianity. Religion, considered with reference to heaven, stands only in the relation of a mean to an end. The scriptures afford us very little positive information with respect to heaven itself; but the general inference deducible from their description is, obviously, that, whether it be a state or a place, its element is purity. It is, therefore, the great object of christianity to form its happy subjects, "Meet for the inheritance of the saints in light." Light is the known emblem of purity, and as such is applied to the Divine Being, of whom we read, "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." But if we were to judge of the future heaven of Antinomians by their sentiments and conduct; we should scarcely expect to find them associated with "The spirits of just men made perfect." Under the influence of genuine christianity, the mind not only respects the authority of its precepts, but acquires a supreme attachment to them. "O how I love thy law," is the undisguised expression of the heart, nor would the real christian, if it were possible, wish to be dispensed from the authority of the moral law, as a rule of life. Knowing that it requires an obedience, which it is his privilege to yield, while he admires its sublime morality, he respects its solemn requisitions.* The error of those, who, because the law is a ministry of death in its operation on the guilty, contend that it is no longer a rule of life to believers under the gospel dispensation, is treated by our author with suitable severity. "Some ignorant persons," says he, "hardily reject Moses in general and without exception, and wish to dispense with the two tables of the law, because they imagine it is by no means suitable for Christians to attach themselves to a doctrine which contains a ministry of death. Moses has fully declared, that although the law can only engender death in the sinner, it is nevertheless highly advantageous to the faithful. For, being at the point of death, he uttered that solemn protestation to the people: 'Set your hearts unto all the words which I testify unto you this day; which ye shall command your children to observe to do, all the words of this law, for it is not a vain thing for you: because it is your life.'

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* Iustit. lib. ii. cap. 8.

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* Bishop Hurd's Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies.

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* "The believer beholds the law—not in the hands of Moses, and as surrounded with the flames of Sinai—but in the hands of that Prince of Peace, who is King of Zion. He sees that the dear, the adorable, the ascended Jesus; having fulfilled its high demands, as a covenant, and released him from its awful curse; now employs it as an instrument of his benign government, for the good of the redeemed, and the glory of his own eternal name. As in the hand of Christ, it is a friend and guide, pointing out the way in which the christian should walk, so as to express his gratitude to God for his benefits, and to glorify the Redeemer. It shews him also, how imperfect his own obedience is; and so is a happy mean of keeping him humble at the foot of sovereign grace, and entirely dependent on the righteousness of his divine Sponsor."

Booth's Death of Legal Hope, &c. p. 124.

"If no one can deny that there is in the law a perfect model of righteousness, we must of necessity conclude one of two things; either, that we ought to have no rule for the regulation of our lives, or, that we must abide by this; since there cannot be many models of righteousness, but one, alone, perpetual and immutable. What David, therefore, says of the righteous man, that, 'In the law doth he meditate day and night,' is not to be understood of any particular age, but to be extended to the end of time. Nor are we to be surprised that it requires of us a holiness more perfect than we can arrive at, while we are imprisoned in these bodies. For when we are under grace, it no longer executes towards us the office of a rigid exactor, whom we cannot satisfy, without paying all his demands; but, by exhorting us to perfection, to which it calls us, it performs the part of a faithful guide, who shews us the end at which we must aim with all our powers, during the whole of our lives; and to which it is no less useful for us to aspire, than it is agreeable to our duty to perform. It will be sufficient if in this contention we persevere, since the whole of life is a race, at the end of which the Judge will graciously reward us, notwithstanding our imperfections.

"The law, therefore, being an exhortation to believers, not by binding their consciences by the fear of its curse, but by awakening and by soliciting them; by censuring their vices, and their defects; many persons, desirous on that account of representing our deliverance from its curse, maintain, that the law is abrogated as it respects believers. (I am now speaking of the moral law.) 'It is not,' say they, ‘ that it ought not ever to command them what is right and just; but it is no longer what it was before to them; that is to say, it no longer confounds and dismays their consciences by the terrors of its condemnation. The apostle Paul, indeed, teaches with sufficient clearness, in his Epistles, such an abrogation of the law. Jesus Christ also taught the same truth, as appears from his declaration that he came not to destroy the law; which he would not have made, if he had not been accused of wishing to abolish it, and if this opinion had not been common and familiar amongst the Jews. Nor would they have had that idea, had it not been founded upon some pretext. So that it is to be supposed, that the opinion which they had formed of Jesus Christ, proceeded from a false interpretation of his doctrine, as it is, indeed, the custom of most men to mutilate the truth, in order to give currency to their errors.

“ That we may not fall into the like mistake, it will be necessary to distinguish carefully, between what is abrogated of the law, and what still remains in force. When the Lord Jesus says,—‘ Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled,'—he clearly shews by such language, that the obedience and reverence due to the law are not in the least diminished by his coming, and that for the best of reasons, since he came to enforce its rights, by removing its transgressions. The doctrine of the law, therefore, remains unaltered by the gospel of Jesus Christ, which in no respect prevents its disposing us to good works of every kind, by teaching, reproving, and correcting us."*

Various are the reasons which might be assigned for the perpetuity of the law as a rule of life to believers; but it is hoped that the just and conclusive reasonings above quoted, will be of sufficient weight to convince the impartial reader, of the folly and wickedness of those, who, under a pretext of honouring the character and work of Jesus Christ, pour the most daring contempt upon the legislation of Jehovah. But, if the sentiment opposed be dishonourable to the gospel of Jesus Christ, it is big also with the most mischievous effects to society. It is possible that men may be better than the principles which they profess; but the instances are so few, and the tendency of Antinomian sentiments in particular, is so uniform, that we are justified in denouncing the character as hateful to God, and dangerous in the highest degree to society. But let such persons learn what that meaneth, "Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid!"

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* Instit. lib. ii. cap. 7.

SECTION VI.

On the Doctrine of Election.

In the train of sin, and amongst the chief of our woes, experience requires us to include *ignorance;* and there is indeed, scarcely any crime which does not stand in some connection more or less remote with it. If this ignorance were merely natural, it would be some extenuation; but, it is, on the contrary, evident, that it is wilful and perverse. "Light is come into the world, but, men choose darkness rather than light." It is to this fact that infidelity must be referred, since the evidence, external and internal, in favour of the christian revelation, is so complete, that it requires abundantly more credulity to remain an infidel, than is imputed to those who embrace christianity. The inspiration and authority of the scriptures being once admitted, the mind becomes disposed to exercise an implicit faith with regard to the detail of its contents, and, instead of trying scripture truths at the bar of reason, submits the understanding to the authority of faith. The prevailing enquiry will of course be, what doctrines are revealed, and with what view; nor will it revolt such an enquirer that the reasons of the doctrine are less distinctly revealed than the doctrine itself. Before a disciplined understanding, and an obedient heart, theological difficulties vanish and subside. The rejection of a doctrine, on the ground of not being able to comprehend it, is a modest way of putting ignorance in the chair, and constituting it the judge of truth. Whereas, the very circumstance of not being able to comprehend a doctrine, is in some instances, a presumptive proof of its truth. When we consider how many things in the natural world, baffle the most acute investigation, shall we be surprised, if, in Christianity, a world of miracles, the same character of ignorance accompany us there? The opposition made to particular doctrines, while it developes the depravity of human nature, illustrates the truths opposed. Those sentiments which pay the least deference to human nature, and require the most implicit acquiescence, contain internal evidence of their authority. No doctrine, perhaps, has been opposed with more violence and virulence, than the doctrine of election; though the thing itself is nothing other than an illustration of that sovereignty, which, when it is displayed in the course of providence, commands a general acquiescence. It is not difficult, however, to account for the unpopularity of this doctrine, which so entirely excludes human merit; a circumstance alone sufficient to excite the inveterate opposition of the ignorant, but arrogant pharisee. The application of rules of human conduct to the Divine Being, has proved a fruitful source of misconceptions, with regard to the plans and operations of Jehovah; the presiding character of whose dispensations, is, *sovereignty.* When it is recollected that human nature is universally depraved, and, " That in a way of justice none of us should see salvation," the divine choice of some, to what is undeserved by all, will excite the less surprise, especially in those persons who are the most deeply sensible of their own unworthiness of so distinguishing an act of royal favour. It is, indeed, true, that this doctrine has been abused to the most licentious purposes; but it is allowed, even by Dr. Priestley, (whom no one will suspect of partiality to it,) that, " The doctrine of a general and most particular providence, which is so leading a feature in every scheme of predestination, brings God so much into every thing, that an habitual and animated devotion is the result."*

The doctrine of election being the distinguishing peculiarity of Calvinism, the reader will no doubt be pleased to see it stated and defended in the words of the great Reformer. "The covenant of grace," he observes, "not being equally preached to all the world, nor received by all in the same manner where it is preached, affords a display of the mysterious conduct of God in this diversity, since it cannot be doubted but that it subserves his good pleasure. As it is evident that this takes place by the Divine will, that salvation is offered to some, and that others are excluded from it, so it gives rise to the most interesting questions, which can only be resolved by instructing the faithful in what they ought to believe concerning election and divine predestination. A subject which to many persons appears involved, and of difficult comprehension, because they can see no reason why God, out of the common mass of mankind, should select some to predestinate them to salvation, and others to predestinate them to death. It will, however, appear in the sequel, by testimonies from the scriptures, that they embarrass themselves for want of good sense and discernment. Besides which, we shall discover in that obscurity which alarms them, how far this doctrine is not only useful, but also pleasant and delightful, on account of the excellent fruits which we derive from it. Never shall we be persuaded in a proper manner, that our salvation arises out of the gratuitous mercy of God, if we possess not at the same time the knowledge of his eternal election. For by not adopting indifferently the whole world to the hope of salvation; but by giving to some, what he refuses to others, he by this comparison of his grace, renders it more estimable and more illustrious."*

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* Doc. of Necessity, p. 162.

"I acknowledge that the profane and impious have in this doctrine, found subject matter for criticism and raillery; but if we fear their audacity, we must be silent on the principal articles of our faith, since there is scarcely any one which they have not polluted with their blasphemies. A rebellious and obstinate spirit will discover no less insolence, upon hearing that in the one essence of God there are three persons, than that God, when he created man, foresaw what would happen to him. Nor will such a person fail to laugh and jeer, when told that the world has been created little more than five thousand years. Perhaps he will enquire why the power of God lay so long dormant and inactive? Nor can any thing, indeed, be offered, without being exposed to such profane raillery.

"The sentiment which some believers entertain, that, this dispute is dangerous, because it is contrary to exhortations, is calculated to shake our faith, and troubles and subdues the mind; is a vain and frivolous allegation. St. Austin confesses that it was on these grounds he was reproved for preaching too freely the doctrine of predestination, which he also abundantly refutes, as indeed he might easily do. As there are opposed to the doctrine which we shall establish, various absurdities, it will be proper to solve them in their respective order. I desire only in general, to have this article granted to me; that as we ought not to endeavour to discover what God has resolved to conceal from us, so neither ought we to neglect what he has fully revealed to us; lest he should on the one hand tax us with too great curiosity, or on the other accuse us of ingratitude.

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* Instit. lib. iii. cap. 21.

"I suppose there is no person of any piety, who will absolutely deny that predestination, by which God hath chosen some men to the hope of salvation, and has adjudged others to eternal damnation. But many persons involve this doctrine in difficulties, and especially those who pretend to found it upon the divine prescience. Both of these things we establish, that God foresees all, and that he disposes of all, but we maintain that it confounds every thing to subject the predestination of God to his prescience.

When we attribute a foreknowledge to God, we mean that all things have ever been and remain eternally before his eyes. So that with respect to his knowledge, nothing is future nor passed; all things are present to him, and so present, that he does not only imagine them by representing to himself their ideas, like those things which present themselves to us through the medium of the imagination, when our souls retain them in our memory; but he beholds and contemplates them as though they were really before his eyes. That prescience extends through the circuit of the world, and over all creatures. We call predestination the eternal decree of God, by which he hath resolved in his council what he would do with every man in particular.

"God hath not only given testimony to the doctrine of individual predestination, but hath also afforded us a pattern of it in the race of Abraham. For he hath therein clearly shewn, that it belongs to him to ordain the destiny of every people, according to his own good pleasure. 'When the Most High,' says Moses, 'divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel. For the Lord's portion is his people: Jacob the lot of his inheritance.'* He elsewhere speaks more expressly, saying, 'The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you because ye were more in number than any people (for ye were the fewest of all people); but because the Lord loved you, and because he would keep the oath which he had sworn unto your fathers, hath the Lord brought you out with a mighty hand.' The same assertion is often repeated. 'Behold the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also with all that therein is: only the Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you above all people, as it is this day.'

"He also shews them elsewhere, that the love of God is the cause of the protection with which they were favoured. This the faithful unanimously confess. 'He hath chosen us for his inheritance, the excellency of Jacob whom he loved.' For to that gratuitous love they attributed all the excellency with which God hath crowned them, because they are well assured, not only that they have not acquired by any merit the advantages which they possess, but that the holy patriarch Jacob himself did not possess sufficient virtue to derive, either to himself or to his successors, so high a prerogative. The prophets also mention their election, in order to reproach them, and to cover them with confusion, for having so basely fallen by their ingratitude.

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* Deut. xxxii. 8—9.

"But what reply will they make, who pretend to limit election to the dignity of men, or to the merit of their works; they see that one nation alone is preferred to all the rest of the world; they hear from the mouth of God himself, that he was not induced by any consideration to be more inclined towards a despicable, and afterwards a miserable and a rebellious people, than towards others. Will they plead against God, that he intended to propose to us such an example of his mercy? but their murmurings and their contradictions will not hinder the execution of his work. By throwing their blasphemies, like so many stones, against heaven, they will never wound his justice; they will only return upon their own heads. The Israelites, you perceive, are led to this principle of gratuitous election in their thanksgivings to God, 'It is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture.' The negative employed is by no means superfluous, it is added that we may exclude ourselves; that we may not only learn that God is the author of all the blessings which render us acceptable, but that he was self-induced in the communication of them, since he could find nothing in us worthy of such liberality.

"To this doctrine the song of the whole church is responsive. 'O God, our fathers have told us what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old. For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them; but thy right hand and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favour unto them.' It is to be remembered, that the land of Canaan is to be considered as a visible symbol of the secret election of God, by which they were adopted. The words of the prophet David, contain the same idea. 'Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord: and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance.' Samuel animates the righteous of his day, by the same consideration to entertain a good hope; 'For the Lord will not forsake his people, for his great name's sake; because it hath pleased the Lord to make you his people.' "*

From the above considerations, it must appear to every impartial and reflecting mind, that, in the dispensations of providence from the earliest ages, a perpetual illustration of the divine sovereignty hath been furnished, calculated to illustrate the character of Jehovah, as an independant being, deriving all his motives from himself. That the greatest and the best of beings should also be an absolute Sovereign, is a proposition so obvious, that it were trifling to attempt the illustration of it. The sovereignty of God admitted, (and it is presumed few persons, if any, calling themselves Christians, will dispute it,) furnishes a reply to all objections against the doctrine of election, as inconsistent with the character of Jehovah; election being only an act of that sovereignty so admitted. But, if such an act of sovereignty be philosophically just, it is also divinely attested. The election of the Jewish nation to be a distinct people from the rest of the world, and to an admission to exclusive privileges; may be considered as a specimen of the style and manner of the great Supreme, whose majesty places him above all enquiry and censure, though his goodness condescends to reveal a part of his ways; but, *how little of him is known!*

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* Instit. lib. iii. cap. 21.

Those who bound their enquiries by the decisions of scripture, will attend with candour and impartiality to testimonies in favour of this doctrine deduced from thence.

The cause of election, as stated in the scriptures, appears to be the uninfluenced good pleasure of God, irrespectively of all qualities and circumstances in the subjects of that choice. That works, either past or future, are of no consideration on this subject, our author proves with sufficient evidence, by observing, that, "Wherever the good pleasure of God reigns, works of whatever kind, can be of no consideration. It is true that in this passage the apostle does not pursue the antithesis, which must, however, be understood, as he himself elsewhere explains it. 'He hath saved us,' says he, 'and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began.' And I have also shewn, that the words already handled, 'That we might be holy and without blame,' ought to remove all scruples from our mind. For if we say that he hath elected us because he foresaw that we should be holy, we shall reverse the apostle's order. We may, therefore, reason thus, with entire confidence: Since God hath elected us in order that we might be holy, it was not, therefore, because he foresaw that we should be so. For these two things are opposed to each other, that the faithful derive their holiness from election, and that nevertheless, it was in the view of that holiness that they were elected. The subterfuge to which they always have recourse, ought here to be disregarded; that although God does not bestow the favour of election to preceding merits, he confers it, nevertheless, on account of future merits. For when the apostle says that the faithful were elected that they might be holy, he thereby signifies that all the holiness which they may possess, derives its origin from election. And how can it ever be made to agree, that those things which take their rise from election, and which election itself produces, should influence God to the act, and be the cause of it?

"The apostle confirms what he had said more strongly yet, when he adds that, God hath elected us according to his good pleasure, which he had purposed in himself. For that is equivalent to saying that he considered nothing out of himself, to which he had any regard in forming this resolution. He, therefore, adds, that the source of our election ought to be referred to this end; that we might be to the praise of the grace of God. Nor does the grace of God merit to be celebrated in our election, unless that election be gratuitous. This it cannot by any means be considered, if God is influenced in the choice of his people, by the consideration of their works respectively. Thus, what Jesus Christ said to his disciples is equally true as applied to the faithful in general. 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.' By which expression, he not only excluded all previous merits, but farther signified that they possessed nothing in themselves on account of which they deserved to be elected, unless he had anticipated them by his mercy. In which sense we must understand the expression of Paul, 'Who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?' where he endeavours to shew that the goodness of God anticipates men in such a sense, that it finds nothing in them, either past or future, calculated to attract his good-will.

"Let us, however, attend to what the Supreme Master and Teacher himself pronounces on this subject. Perceiving in his hearers so great a hardness of heart, that his preaching appeared to be almost useless to them, to prevent the abuse which the weak might make of it, he exclaims, 'All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing.' Let it be well remarked, that when we are placed under the protection of our Lord Jesus Christ, it proceeds from the gift of the

Father, as its principle and source. Some persons may contend, perhaps, that God acknowledges in the number of his people, those only who voluntarily give themselves to him by faith. But Jesus Christ insists simply upon this point, that although the whole world should be shaken by the numerous revolts which take place, that the council of God remains still firmer than the heavens, that election shall never fail. We see in the gospel that the elect belonged to their heavenly Father before he gave them to his only Son. If it be asked, whether they naturally belonged to him, it is replied, that he constitutes those his who were far from him, by attaching them to himself. The words of Jesus Christ are too clear to be obscured by any gloss whatever. 'No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him. Every man, therefore, that hath heard and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me.' Our divine Saviour having said that the disciples who had been given to him were the possession of his father, adds towards the close, 'I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me, for they are thine.' From whence, therefore, does it proceed, that, the world in general does not belong to its Creator, if it is not because grace delivers from the curse and wrath of God, a few persons who otherwise would have perished, and leaves the world in that perdition to which it was destined?

"Farther, though Jesus Christ places himself, as it were, between his Father and his people, he nevertheless attributes to himself the right which he possesses, in common with the Father, to choose whom he pleases. 'I speak not of you all,' says he, 'I know whom I have chosen.' Should it be asked, from whence he chose them, he elsewhere informs us that it was *out of the world,* which he excludes from his prayers, when he recommends his disciples to his father. It deserves, however, to be well observed, that when he says he knows them whom he hath elected, he designates a certain number of mankind, not distinguishing them from the rest for the virtues or qualities which they possess, but on account of their being separated by the heavenly decree. From whence it follows, those who belong to the election of which Jesus Christ is the author, are not superior to others in themselves. Where he elsewhere places Judas amongst the elect, though he was indeed a devil, it refers merely to his office. The apostleship was indeed a mirror of the favour of God, as St. Paul frequently acknowledges respecting himself; it did not, however, include the hope of eternal salvation.

Judas, therefore, by exercising his ministry with perfidy, was indeed worse than a devil; but those whom Jesus Christ hath united to his own body, he will never suffer to perish, because he will ever execute what he hath promised to maintain—their salvation; that is to say, he will display a divine power, greater than any in the world."*

Having thus irrefragably established the authority of the doctrine upon scripture evidence, our author proceeds to adduce the testimonies of Bernard and Austin, and replies with great solidity of argument, to the various calumnies usually directed against it. But it would comport neither with the design of the present work, nor probably with the reader's inclination, to follow the arguments, however judicious, by which he repels the objections alledged against the tendency of the doctrine. It is evident that the doctrine itself stands closely connected in the scriptures with personal holiness; which is there enjoined upon the ground of the distinguishing love of God through Jesus Christ; and though good works have no influence on the decree of election, they are considered as the *objects* of predestination, as the individual is the *subject* of election. An habitual exemplification of the christian character in all its parts, being the only genuine evidence of election, no man is entitled on the ground of self-complacency, to write his own name in the Lamb's book of life.

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* Instit. lib. iii. cap. 22.

SECTION VII.

On the Doctrine of Reprobation.

When it is considered what odium has been attached to the Calvinistic system, on the ground of its including the doctrine of reprobation, it cannot, surely, be thought irrelevant to the object of the present undertaking, to insert the statement of Calvin, with reference to that subject.

"Let us now speak," says he, "of the reprobate, referred to by St. Paul.* For as Jacob was received into favour without having merited any thing by his good works; so Esau was rejected of God, before he was stained with a single crime. If we look towards works, we offer an insult to the apostle, as if he had not seen what is so evident to us. And that he did not include them is apparent, since he principally urges this article, that, though they had done neither good nor evil, the one was chosen while the other was rejected. From whence he infers, that the foundation of divine predestination is not to be found in works. Besides, in reply to the question, whether God be unjust in acting thus? he does not intimate that God treated Esau according to his deserts. This, however, is precisely what he ought to have said, as it would have been the most clear and natural defence of the equity of God. But he gives an entirely different solution, asserting that God creates the reprobate, in order to shew forth in them the glory of his justice. By adding, indeed, that he shews mercy to whom he pleases, and hardens whom he will, we see how he imputes both these actions to the good pleasure of God. If, therefore, we can alledge no other reason wherefore God condescends to honour his people with his mercy, than because it pleases him; neither can we assign any other, wherefore he rejects others, than his own will. For when it is said, that God hardens, or that he shews mercy according to his good pleasure, it is intended to teach us to seek no other cause than his will alone.*

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* Romans, ix. 13.

"But when men hear these things asserted, they are incapable of restraining their intemperance and audacity, but break out into tumults, as though a trumpet were sounded for the assault. Many persons, under the pretext of supporting the interests of the glory of God, and of preventing any unjust blame from being thrown upon him, consent to the doctrine of election, but deny that he reprobates any. But this subterfuge is puerile and absurd, since election cannot subsist unless it be opposed to reprobation. It is admitted that God separates those whom he adopts to salvation, it is, therefore, grossly impertinent to say, that those who are not elected, obtain by chance, or by their own industry, what is bestowed from above on very few persons. God, then, reprobates those whom he leaves, and for no other reason, than because he chooses to exclude them from the inheritance which he has destined for his children. Nor is the audacity of men to be endured, which is not to be repressed by the authority of the word of God, when it relates to the incomprehensible council of God, which even angels adore. We have also just heard, that this hardening is as much in the hand of God, as his mercy. We have seen, indeed, that St. Paul does not give himself the trouble, like some great doctors, to exonerate God by lying for him; he merely shews that a vessel of clay is not permitted to dispute with him that made it. Farther, those who cannot endure the thought that God should reprobate any, how will they extricate themselves from that sentence of Jesus Christ? 'Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.' They admit, that all those whom the Father has not condescended to plant in his field as sacred trees, are manifestly destined to perdition. If they deny this to be a mark of reprobation, there is nothing so clear that they will not obscure. Though they cease not to murmur, let our faith be constrained within the boundaries of sobriety, and listen to the caution of St. Paul; not to complain of God, if 'willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known; he endure with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction: and make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory.' Let readers attentively observe this circumstance, that St. Paul, in order to cut off all murmurs and calumnies, attributes a sovereign empire to the wrath and power of God, since it is equally unjust and unreasonable to profess to investigate the secret judgments of God, which swallow up all our powers by their unfathomable depth.

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* Instit. lib. iii. cap. 22.

"The conduct of God in inflicting upon the reprobate the punishment due to them, and in bestowing upon his elect the grace which they did not deserve, may be easily defended against all accusation, by the similitude of a creditor, who has an unlimited right over his debt, to remit it to the one, and to enforce the payment from the other, according to his own pleasure. The Lord may, therefore, shew favour to whom he will, because he is merciful, and not to all—because he is just; in bestowing upon some what they do not deserve, he shews that his favour is gratuitous; in not bestowing it upon all, he shews what all deserve."[*]

An opinion equally singular and erroneous having been adopted and acted upon by several ministers of reputedly Calvinistic sentiments; that, because salvation is restricted to the elect, the preaching of the gospel ought also to be exclusively addressed to them; a brief refutation of so absurd an hypothesis, can require no apology.

How this sentiment can be reconciled with the commission given by the risen Redeemer to his disciples, to preach "repentance and remission of sins in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem,"[†] those who maintain it have yet to shew. That the disciples, if they understood the doctrine of election, could have any grounds for supposing Jerusalem sinners to be objects of that decree, is a supposition too glaringly absurd to be countenanced by any reflecting mind. So entirely hopeless a task as that of preaching to persons, some of whose hands were yet reeking with the blood of their Master, would have required nothing less than that divine commission which they received, to inspire them with courage and success. But, upon the principle of these spurious Calvinists, they acted completely out of character, in calling those sinners to repentance, and the remission of their sins; and ought even to have disobeyed the divine and benevolent command. The Saviour's command to the eleven to "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," must be equally unintelligible upon so singular a principle; unless we are to understand "every creature" to be a term descriptive of the elect, in which case, the whole world must have been in an elect state—which is absurd.

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[*] Instit. lib. iii. cap. 23.

[†] Luke xxiv. 47.

If it be urged, that, being "dead in trespasses and sins," sinners are naturally incapable of believing and obeying the gospel call; so were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, where the first christian church was planted. The rule of conduct for rational agents being the revealed will of God, and not his decrees; wherever a divine appointment is interposed, implicit acquiescence and prompt obedience become the duties of all professing christians.

As well might Ezekiel have refused to prophesy to the dry bones, on the ground of the extreme improbability of any effect resulting from his obedience; but complying with the divine appointment, a stirring amongst the dry bones, which became at length animated into a great army, illustrated the divine power, while it explained the positive command.

But the spirit of the objection, not only at variance with evangelical sentiment, offends equally against the authority under which it takes shelter. How little claim persons who advocate this sentiment really possess to be considered Calvinists, will appear from the following quotation from the leader under whom they choose to arrange themselves: "But to what end (some will reply) do exhortations tend? I answer, if men obstinately despise them, they will be witnesses to convict them when they appear before the tribunal of God. They even now strike the evil conscience For though they affect to despise, they are unable to disprove them. But what shall the poor sinner do, it will be replied, since the melting of heart necessary to obey, is not afforded to him? To which I reply, how vain is it for him to seek such excuses, since he cannot impute the hardness of his heart to any one besides himself.

"Should any one ask why they are warned of their duty? Why are they not rather left to the conduct of the Holy Spirit? Why are they solicited by exhortations, since they can only comply with them, so far as the Spirit enables them? Why are they corrected when they have departed from the right way, since they err and fall by a necessary and inevitable infirmity of their nature? This is briefly our answer; O man, who art thou that wouldest impose laws upon God? If he choose to prepare us by means of exhortations to receive that very grace, to obey those exhortations which are addressed to us, what hast thou to object to this conduct of the Lord, and what is there in it which thou canst justly contemn?"*

The importance of pointed addresses to the consciences of sinners, may be ascertained from the great utility of such works as Baxter's "*Call to the Unconverted,*" and Doddridge's "*Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul;*" works that have, perhaps, beyond all writings merely human, promoted the salvation of immortal souls.

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* Instit. lib. ii. cap. 5.—5.

SECTION VIII.

On Original Sin.

But if the doctrine of election be objected to, on the ground of difficulties supposed to attach to it, though easily separable from it, the scripture doctrine of original sin, with all its humiliating results, can scarcely be supposed to excite any feelings but those of pride and indignation, and that sort and degree of opposition which such a state of mind naturally induces. The admission of the doctrine is, however, necessary to an accurate understanding of many parts of scripture, particularly the Epistle to the Romans, in which the apostle, assuming the fact as incontrovertible, employs it as a ground of reasoning and instruction. Adam is indeed considered, in sacred writ, as standing in the relation of a federal head to his posterity, to whom Christ is also opposed as the covenant head of his people. It is not to be denied that the subject has its difficulties, which, to unenlightened reason, may appear insuperable; but, the man who derives his religious views immediately from the scriptures, will admit the mysterious doctrine in the simplicity of faith, and the silence of acquiescence.

With a view to obviate some of the more popular objections, our author furnishes us with a clear definition of terms, in the following words: "My design," says he, "is not to examine all the definitions of those persons who have treated on the subject. I will only mention one, which appears to me more congenial with the truth than the rest. We say then, that original sin is a corruption and an hereditary malignity of our nature, which, being diffused throughout the soul, renders us obnoxious to the wrath of God, and produces in us those works which the scriptures call works of the flesh.

"We must, therefore, observe the two following things. First, that we are so corrupted in all our powers, as, on account of this corruption, to be justly liable to condemnation before God, to whom nothing can be agreeable but righteousness, innocence, and purity. Nor can it be alledged that this obnoxiousness to punishment is caused by another's fault exclusively, as if we were answerable for the sin of our first father, without being ourselves guilty. When we assert, that by the sin of Adam we are made responsible at the tribunal of God, we by no means pretend to say that we are to bear the punishment of his crime, however innocent we may be, and without having deserved it; but we merely say, that being universally enveloped in the curse by his disobedience, he hath subjected us all to this punishment. Nor hath the punishment alone fallen from him upon us; the infection and corruption communicated by him to us, and to which punishment is due, dwell in us also. On which account, St. Austin, though he sometimes calls original sin *the sin of another*, to shew more evidently that it is transmitted to us by a carnal propagation, maintains, notwithstanding, that it belongs to us individually. The apostle also expressly asserts that death hath passed upon all, for that all have sinned; that is to say, because all are involved in original sin, and infected with its stains and pollutions. On which account, even infants are subjected to this condemnation, not simply for the sin of another, but for their own also. For although they have not yet brought forth the fruit of iniquity, the seed of it is, nevertheless, hidden in them; and what is still worse, their whole nature is only the seed of sin and of corruption, which consequently renders them odious in the sight of Deity.

" The other point which remains to be considered, is, that this corruption of our nature is never idle, but produces incessantly new fruits, *those carnal works* of which we have been just speaking, like a furnace continually emitting flames, or a spring sending forth streams. Those who have therefore defined original sin, as *the privation of original righteousness, with which man ought to be clothed,* have in these words comprised the substance of that sin; but in my opinion have not sufficiently expressed its force and its efficacy. For our nature is not only devoid of all good, but is also so fruitful of evil as never to remain inactive.

" It is on this account I have observed, that since the defection of Adam, all the powers of man have been subject to sin. For it was not simply the inferior part of the soul or sensuality which inclined him to evil; that unhappy impiety to which we have alluded, took possession also of the highest and most excellent faculty of his mind, as pride gained and penetrated into the most intimate and most profound part of his heart. From whence it appears how absurd is the conceit of those persons, who restrict the corruption which proceeds from that impiety to sensual appetites, or denominate it a source, a principle of latent fire which excites to the commission of sin, that part only of the soul which they call *sensuality.* St. Paul not only commands us to mortify sensual appetites, but is desirous that we may be renewed in the spirit of our mind. Hence it appears that, that part of the soul in which its excellence is most conspicuous, is so wounded and corrupted, that it not only simply stands in need of a cure, but of being created anew.

"Those who have the audacity to attribute to God the cause of their sins, under the pretext that we assert, that men are naturally corrupted, would do well to consider the grounds on which they rest, and whether it is not a great crime in them to contemplate the work of God in their corruption, instead of seeking it in the nature which Adam received before his transgression. Let us ever remember to impute our ruin to the depravation of our nature, and not to nature itself, lest we accuse God, the author and preserver of our being, as though our misery proceeded from him. It is perfectly true that this mortal evil is deeply rooted in our nature. But it is certain that this evil hath occurred through sin superinduced. We ought, therefore, to complain of ourselves alone. This the scriptures particularly inculcate. 'Lo, this only have I found,' says the preacher, 'that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions.' From whence it appears clearly, that it is to man alone that his ruin must be imputed, since, having received by the favour of God a natural uprightness, he hath by his own folly fallen into vanity.

"We assert, therefore, that man is naturally corrupted. Not that this corruption springs from the foundation of his nature, but we express ourselves thus, in order to shew that it is rather a quality superadded to human nature, than a property of its substance, which hath from the beginning belonged to it. We, however, call this corruption *natural,* in order that no one may imagine, that it is acquired or contracted by example or evil customs; since we all take possession of it from our birth, by a successive and hereditary right. This we do not assert without authority. It is on this account that the apostle designates mankind, by nature, the children of wrath."*

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* Instit. lib. ii. cap. 1.

SECTION IX.

On Free-will.

Having thus established the fact of the entire depravity of human nature, our author naturally proceeds to discuss the question of free-will, which has given rise to so much controversy in the christian world, and which is far from being settled at the present day. The sentiments of Calvin on this subject, being appreciated only through the medium of modern Calvinists, who without any acquaintance with the works of their venerable founder, have adopted his general sentiments without examination, and maintained them in many instances upon different grounds than those upon which he professedly rested them; a few extracts will, perhaps, serve the double purpose of correcting the mistakes too prevalent on the subject, and of doing justice to our author.

"Having shewn," he observes, "that the tyranny of sin, since it subdued Adam our first father, has not only been extended over all men, but has also taken possession of their whole souls, we are now to enquire whether, since we have been thus engaged in this miserable slavery, we have entirely lost our liberty, or whether we retain any portion of it, and of what strength it is. But the more easily to throw light upon this question, it is necessary to propose an end to which we may refer the whole dispute. The best means to avoid error is to consider attentively the dangers which present themselves on either side. When man discovers himself to be destitute of all good, he immediately takes occasion to become careless. For being told that he has no ability in himself to do good, he takes no pains to endeavour so to do, as though he had no concern in it. On the other hand, if any thing good be attributed to him, immediately a false confidence is excited, and he robs God of a part of the glory which is his due. In order to avoid these equally dangerous rocks, we must, in my opinion, take the following course. In convincing man, that in him there dwelleth no good thing, and that he is on all sides surrounded, thus to speak by a miserable indigence, we should at the same time teach him to aspire both to the good of which he is destitute, and to the liberty of which he is deprived, and that he should attend more earnestly to those duties than if he believed that he was enriched with goodness, and endowed with extensive ability.

" With respect to the first, which consists in making him feel his poverty and his misery, many persons entertain doubts which they need not. It is true that man ought not to be deprived of any thing belonging to him; but it is infinitely important to deprive him entirely of vanity and false glory. The scriptures, when they speak of the excellent dignity with which man was adorned at his creation, refer it to his *having been created in the image of God.* By which they clearly shew that he was not independantly rich, and that all his opulence and blessedness was derived to him through the communion which he enjoyed with God, and by the participation of his favours.

" It is, besides, no less useful to us, than it is necessary to support the glory of God undiminished, to deprive us of all the praise of virtue and of wisdom. To walk and to fight depending upon our own strength, what is it, but to lean upon a reed which will break under us? On which account, Austin so frequently remarks, ' That those who defend free-will, while they are endeavouring to establish its rights, rather overthrow than support it.' "*

Having thus introduced the subject, our author proceeds to quote the sentiments of the ancient philosophers, as well as those of the fathers of the Christian church, in which, however, we shall not follow him, as the object of the present work is rather to display the sentiments of the reformer, than to treat any particular subject fully. Those who are inclined to pursue this question at length, will see it discussed in a masterly and convincing manner, by the celebrated Jonathan Edwards, in his work on the Freedom of the Will, in which the subject is treated with the acumen of a Locke, and the piety of a Watts.

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* In Evangel. Joan. tract 22.—Instit. lib. ii. cap. 2.

Pursuing the subject, our author observes, "That sentence of Chrysostome has ever pleased me, that *the foundation of our philosophy is humility.* The discourse of Austin still more, where he uses these expressions; 'As Demosthenes, the celebrated Greek orator, being asked what was the first rule of eloquence, replied, that it was action, and when asked what was the second, and what the third, gave still the same answer, that it was action: So,' saith he, 'if you ask me what are the precepts of the Christian religion, I will reply that the first, the second, and the third are—Humility.' By this humility he by no means intends a disposition of soul, which simply prevents a man, upon the supposition of some good quality, from becoming proud; but a virtue which makes him truly feel what he is; and which compels him to acknowledge, that the only asylum which is open to him, and to which he can repair, is to humble himself before his Creator.

"Let us not, therefore, enter into a contest with the Divine Being on the subject of our rights, as though what we attributed to him constituted our indigence For as our meanness contrasted shews his grandeur, so the confession which we make of it has ever his mercy for its remedy. I do not, indeed, desire that man should concede to God any part of his rights, without being previously convinced of his imbecility; and that in order to be formed to a true humility, he should divert his attention from his own faculties; but I demand only that, disengaging himself from that fond love which he bears towards himself, and from that ambition which is so natural to him; from his passions I say, by which he is but too much blinded, he will contemplate himself in the faithful mirror of scripture.

"With what has been commonly alledged from St. Austin, I am far from being dissatisfied, as I have already intimated; which is, that the natural gifts of man have been corrupted by sin, and that the supernatural are entirely abolished. By supernatural gifts must be understood, the light of faith, the uprightness of the heart, with reference to a heavenly life and eternal felicity. Man, then, having abandoned the kingdom of God, has been deprived of the spiritual gifts, with which he was furnished for his salvation. From whence it follows that he hath been so banished from the kingdom of heaven, that all the faculties and powers which belong to the blessed life of the soul are extinguished, until recovered by regeneration; such as love to God, charity towards our neighbour, the desire to live in holiness and righteousness. Now all these being restored to us by Jesus Christ, and as they cannot be attributed to our nature, since they are foreign to us, it must necessarily be concluded that they were abolished in us. On the other hand, the light of the mind, and uprightness of heart, we are deprived of; and therein consists the corruption of our natural gifts. For though we still retain a portion of judgment and of intelligence, conjoined with the will, we can by no means say that our understanding is perfect, weak and plunged into thick darkness as it is; nor that our will is pure and holy, since its malice and rebellion are but too well known to us. Thus reason, by which man conceives and judges of things to distinguish good from evil, being a natural gift, could not possibly be entirely extinguished, but became weakened and corrupted in part, so there appeared no longer any thing but gloomy, terrific ruins.

"In this sense St. John says that, 'The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not;' where he clearly expresses these two things, that in the nature of man, however perverse and corrupt: sparks of light shine, which discover him to be a reasonable animal, distinguished from the brutes by being endowed with intelligence; but that these sparks are, however, smothered by a dense ignorance, from which it is incapable of separating itself to produce any good effect. The will also being inseparable from nature, is equally incapable of being annihilated; but is also become so entirely the slave of base affections, that it is incapable of desiring any thing really good."

That the light of the understanding is not *absolutely extinguished* our author proceeds to explain, by shewing that an application of the mental powers to any specific object, is not unattended with utility and pleasure. Applied to *things terrestial,* such as laws, civil, political, and œconomical; mechanics, philosophy, and the various arts called *liberal,* the understanding usefully employed, promotes individual and social happiness, by ameliorating the condition of society, by illustrating the principles, and enforcing the obligations of distributive justice. Man being a social animal, is impelled by a natural inclination to promote the prosperity of society. Upon this principle, human nature appears pervaded with a general impression that all human societies ought to be governed by certain laws, the principles of which are engraved in the human mind. Nor is the opposition made by individuals to existing laws, to be construed into an exception to this general principle; since it demonstrates only the ascendancy of the passions over the judgment, and discovers that they hate in their heart, what they approve in their understanding. The variety of opinions discoverable on the legislation of particular governments and individuals, as it includes a recognition of the importance of some form of government, discovers only the imperfection of the light of nature which is far from indicating the last and most perfect form of government, which should exclude all possibility of exception, and all inducement to opposition.

As human nature is in general distinguished from the brute creation by understanding; the inferior animals by instinct, from inanimate beings; so there is also a variety of endowments amongst rational beings, calculated, by displaying the sovereignty of the Divine Being in those instances of diversity, to repress the tendency to pride, which is unhappily so general, and so much to be regretted. The endowments of individuals are, by Divine Providence, adapted to the stations which they occupy, and the duties which they are called to the discharge of. But in this diversity we are furnished with various evidence of an impress of divinity; surrounded, indeed, by much acquired darkness and imperfection; but still indicative of the original greatness, and perpetual responsibility of every human agent.

But, if we enquire into the capabilities of human reason, with reference to seeking of the kingdom of God, or comprehending heavenly wisdom, we shall soon perceive a miserable deficiency, which admits of one only remedy—divine illumination. "Heavenly wisdom," according to our author, "consists in knowing the three following things: First, what is the nature of God; Secondly, what the nature of his favour and good-will towards us which includes our salvation, and, finally, what rule we ought to follow, in order to conform our lives to his law. With regard to the two first articles, and especially the second, the most subtle, vivacious, and enlightened persons, are totally blind. I do not deny but that in the books of the philosophers we meet with beautiful and exquisite sentences respecting the Divinity, written with a great deal of ingenuity and elegance; but there always appears so much inconstancy, and so little firmness, that it is easy to perceive their imaginations were wild and confused. It is true, as we have already remarked, that God hath given them some glimpse of his majesty, that they might not cover their impiety with a vain pretext of ignorance. But they have so seen objects, as not to be conducted thereby to pursue truth—much less have they arrived at it. These persons, with their pretended illuminations, may, I conceive, be well compared to a man, who, finding himself at night in the middle of a field, in a thunder storm, sees by the flashes of lightning a considerable extent round about him, but it is only instantaneous. So that all this light is of no use to conduct him, since it disappears so suddenly, that before he is able to advance a step, he is replunged into darkness; thus is it wholly impossible for him to recover his road by such a help. Besides, those sparks of truth which shine occasionally in the books of the philosophers, by what clouds of errors are they not encompassed? Let us, therefore, conclude that human reason can never by its own strength discover truth; that it can never of itself comprehend who is the true God, and in what relation he will stand to us.

"St. Paul is remarkably clear in treating this subject. Having assumed that the wisdom of man is full of folly and of vanity, he thus concludes the subject. 'But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.' Who then is this natural man, unless it be him who prides himself on the light of nature? But, naturally, such a man understands nothing in spiritual things. Wherefore? Is it owing to idleness, which, engrossing his mind, makes him neglect to acquire the knowledge of it? By no means; for should he employ his utmost strength and intelligence, he would still fall short of it, for it must be spiritually discerned, saith St. Paul, since it is by a spiritual judgment, disentangled from carnal passions, that we ought to judge thereof. By which he intends, that, being hidden and impenetrable to the understandings of men, they have been discovered and manifested to us by the revelation of the Spirit. So that all the mysteries of the wisdom of God are but folly to man, until he becomes enlightened by his grace.

"What he denies, however, to men, he attributes to God in another place, beseeching him to bestow upon the Ephesians *the spirit of wisdom and of revelation.* By these words we learn, that whatever wisdom or revelation the world contains is a gift of God. What farther does he say? 'That he would enlighten the eyes of their understanding.' They are therefore, blind, since they stand in need of a new illumination. What does he farther add? 'That ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints.' He who presumes upon having more intelligence than he really possesses, is so much the blinder, as he does not perceive his own blindness.

"But we must now consider that other faculty of the soul, the *will,* in which free-will properly consists, if indeed there be any in man. For we have already seen that the choice depends rather upon the will, than the understanding. And first, lest what hath been taught by the philosophers, and commonly received, should serve to establish the uprightness of the human will, that is, that all creatures desire that good which is suitable to them; let it be observed, that the force of free-will ought not to be considered with reference to that desire or appetite which proceeds rather from a propensity of nature than the deliberation of the mind. The schoolmen even confess that the action of free-will consists in the application of reason to two opposing claims. By which they mean, that the object of the appetite ought to be submitted to the choice of the will, and that deliberation ought to precede choice. If we examine, indeed, the nature of that desire which man feels naturally after *good*, we shall find that he possesses this in common with animals, who all desire their own advantage, and who, when any image of advantage strikes their senses, pursue it with all their might. The question, then, whether man is incited by a natural feeling to desire his good, has nothing to do with free-will, which, to be truly free, ought to discern the good which it desires by the light of reason; and, having distinguished it, to make choice of it; and having chosen it, to pursue the enjoyment of it.

"But in order to remove every difficulty, we must here be on our guard against two false conclusions into which we may fall. For the word *appetite* does not signify the proper motion of the will, but only a natural inclination. Secondly, the word *good* is not to be understood as meaning righteousness and virtue, but those things which all creatures desire, as being suitable and proper to the preservation and convenience of their being. To which it must be farther added, that though man passionately desires to obtain what is good and suitable for him, he nevertheless does not pursue it, nor apply himself to search after it. For there is no person who does not desire eternal happiness, and to whom it would not be gratifying; but no one aspires after it, until he is excited to it by the Holy Spirit. Since then this natural desire by no means proves that man possesses a free-will, as the inclination which inferior creatures have, to tend to the perfection of their nature, by no means proves that there is any freedom in them; we must now consider whether the will of man, with reference to other things, is so corrupted that it can only produce evil; or whether any portion of it remain entire, from whence any good desires may proceed.

"Those who assert that by the original favour of God we are capable of willing effectually, appear to imply that there is in the soul a faculty capable of aspiring voluntarily to that which is good, but that this faculty is so weak as not to be able to rise to a firm and solid affection, or to excite man to exert himself to obtain the enjoyment of it. Nor is there any doubt but that the schoolmen have commonly followed this opinion, which they have taken from Origen, and other ancient doctors, so that when they consider man simply with respect to his nature, they represent him to us in the language of St. Paul: 'For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do.' But in this way they overthrow the whole argument which the apostle maintains in that passage where he speaks of the christian struggle, (which he treats more briefly in the Epistle to the Galatians,) that the faithful experience continually in themselves, the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. Now they have not the spirit in a way of nature, but by the grace of regeneration. That the apostle is speaking of those who are regenerated is clear; for having said that there was no good thing in him, he adds in explanation, that he is speaking of his flesh. On which account he declares that he does not commit the evil, and says that it is sin which dwelleth in him. What is the import of the qualification, 'In me, that is in my flesh?' It is certainly as though he had said, There dwells no good thing in me of myself, seeing that nothing good is to be found in my flesh. From whence arises the apology; *It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.* Which is true of the faithful alone, who are aiming at doing good, with reference to their minds. Besides, the conclusion which he adds, manifestly shews this, 'I delight in the law of God after the inward man. But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind.' Who could experience such a combat but the person who, regenerated by the Holy Spirit, still feels the remains of sin in his flesh? On which account, St. Austin having sometimes explained this passage of the nature of man, retracted afterwards his explication, as false and ill founded.

"If we once allow, indeed, that man possesses the smallest inclination to that which is good, without the grace of God, how shall we answer the apostle, who denies that we are capable of even thinking a good thought?* What shall we reply to Jehovah, who declares to us by the mouth of Moses, that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually?† Since, then, they have imposed upon themselves by the false interpretation of a passage, we must not be influenced by their fancy. Let us rather listen to what Jesus Christ addresses to us in his gospel, that whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. But we are all sinners by nature; it follows, therefore, that we are all naturally under the yoke of sin. That if man be altogether subjected to the dominion of sin, we must necessarily conclude, that the will, which is one of his principal faculties, is also captive, and bound by the strongest fetters. What St. Paul also asserts, that it is God who worketh in us, both to will and to do of his good pleasure, is not to be maintained upon the supposition of our will preceding the grace of the Holy Spirit. Far be from us then, the opinion of all those, who tell us of I know not what preparations and dispositions in our nature, to embrace that which is good. I confess that believers, after the example of David, beseech God to dispose their hearts to obey his law; but it is to be remembered, that the very desire to pray proceeds from God: which may easily be gathered from the words of that holy prophet. For, beseeching God to create in him a new heart, he does not even attribute the beginning of such a creation to himself. Let us, therefore, rather receive what St. Austin addresses to us. 'God,' saith he, 'hath prevented thee in all things. Prevent then his anger—but how? Confess that you have received all from him; that all the good which you possess proceeds from him, and all the evil from yourselves. Nothing,' saith he, 'belongs to us but sin.'"*

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* 2 Cor. iii. 5.

† Gen. vi. 5.

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* Instit. lib. ii. cap. 2.

SECTION X.

On Justification.

From the preceding quotations on the subject of Free-will, we can scarcely fail to be convinced that man, degraded and rendered utterly impotent by the fall, must be absolutely indebted to foreign assistance for his recovery and elevation. To a mind adequately impressed with this conviction, the question, "*How shall I be just with God?*" will not fail to recur with exquisitely painful interest, until answered by an accurate and comprehensive view of the doctrine of justification, derived from the infallible source of truth. When it is considered that the law of God enjoins *universal* and *perpetual* obedience, it must be evident that a single transgression must for ever preclude the possibility of being justified by a broken covenant; since to condemn is all the law can do, whose reiterated language is, "the soul that sinneth it shall die." It is evident, therefore, that such a righteousness as can alone be available for justification, can never proceed from the law of Moses (as the apostle asserts), unless the same law which makes sin, and threatens the guilty with punishment, can at the same time be supposed to abate its claims and tolerate iniquity, which, as it supposes it to be mutable, is absurd. To conceive of the Divine Being as enacting a law illustrative of the immutable holiness of his nature, and to suppose him to surrender the execution of its penalties on the ground of a partial obedience to its precepts, is an implication that either the law is excessive in its demands, or that the supreme legislator is merciful at the expence of his justice; the former of which arraigns the wisdom, and the latter the equity of Him who is infinite in counsel, and essentially just. The nature and importance of justification, clearly illustrated by the apostle, in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, and in the first verse, furnish us with convincing evidence on the interesting subject. That justification is a gratuitous act of God, placing us in a state of salvation, in consideration of the righteousness of Jesus Christ, is evident from the connection of the words, which by a very unhappy division of chapters, are separated from the premises from which they are an inference. The formal ground of justification, as stated in the scriptures, appears to be the righteousness of Jesus Christ, received by faith; consequently, all those passages which speak of justification by faith, must be considered as standing in direct opposition to works, as forming any meritorious ground of acceptance with God; and as containing an implied sense, that it is not by means of faith as a meritorious principle, that faith justifies; but as it is the appropriation of a gracious provision, adapted to the feelings of an enlightened conscience.

"It is necessary," says our author, "to explain this subject, and so to consider this article of justification by faith, as to be impressed with its being one of the principal points of the Christian religion, that we may apply ourselves to the examination of it, with all the attention and precision of which we are capable. For as we have no foundation upon which to rest our salvation, unlsss we know in what light God views us, and his will concerning us; neither can we without this knowledge have any support upon which we can place the reverence and piety which are due to him. Let us, therefore, enquire into the meaning of those expressions—*To be justified before God; to be justified by faith; or, to be justified by works.*

"As iniquity is abominable in the eyes of God, it is impossible for man to find favour in his sight as a sinner, or while he is considered under that character. For wherever sin is found, the wrath and vengeance of God are to be found also. He is, therefore, justified, who is not considered as a sinner, but a righteous person; and who, on that ground, is qualified to stand before the tribunal of God, where sinners must appear with confusion. For example, if a man wrongfully accused, appear before the tribunal of an equitable judge, and be absolved and declared innocent after due examination, it must of course be said that he is justly cleared, and that he is justified from the crime of which he was accused. We say also that man is justified before God, when being separated from the number of sinners, God is the witness and asserter of his righteousness. Thus we say man is justified by his works, when his life exhibits such purity and holiness as merit to be approved before the tribunal of God, as a perfect righteousness; or when by the innocence and perfection of his works, he can satisfy his judgment. On the contrary, he is said to be justified by faith, who, excluded from the righteousness of works, receives by faith, the righteousness of Jesus Christ; and who, clothed in that divine righteousness, appears in the presence of God, not as a sinner, but as a righteous person. We say, then, in a word, that our justification is a gratuitous acceptation, by which God, receiving us into his favour, considers us as just; and we shall also maintain, that this acceptation consists in the imputation of the righteousness of Jesus Christ.*

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* The coincidence of thought between our reformer and an illustrious British divine, on this subject, is so remarkably striking, that I avail myself with pleasure of so respectable a testimony to the unadulterated evangelical doctrine of justification by faith alone.

"St. Paul," he observes, "commendeth the excellency of the evangelical dispensation from hence, that it entirely doth ascribe the justification of men to God's mercy and favour excluding any merit of man, any right or title thereto, grounded upon what man hath performed; consequently, advancing the glory of God, and depressing the vanity of man. If," saith he, "Abraham were justified by works, he had whereof to boast, for that to him, who worketh, wages are not reckoned as bestowed in favour, but are paid as debt; so would it be, if men were justified by works, they might claim to themselves the due consequences thereof, impunity and reward; they would be apt to please themselves, and boast of the effects arising from their own performances; but if, as the gospel teacheth, men are justified freely (gratis) by God's mercy and grace, without any regard to what they formerly have done, either good or bad, those who have lived wickedly and impiously (upon their compliance with the terms proposed to them) being no less capable thereof, than the most righteous and pious persons; then *where is boasting? It is excluded;* then surely no man can assume any thing to himself; then all the glory and praise are due to God's frank goodness; the purport of which reasoning (so often used) doth imply, that a man's justification signifieth his being accepted or approved as just, standing *rectus in curia*, being in God's esteem, and by his sentence absolved from guilt and punishment, the which cannot otherwise be obtained, than from divine favour declared and exhibited in the gospel; according as St. Paul otherwhere fully speaketh: 'To the praise of the glory of his

"The scriptures furnish us with many evident testimonies to confirm what we have now advanced. I will only alledge a few, in which the subject of justification is expressly treated. When St. Luke relates, that, all the people that heard him, and the publicans, justified God; and Jesus Christ declares that wisdom is justified of all her children; the word, justify, in those passages, cannot possibly signify that men confer righteousness upon God, which ever resides essentially and perfectly in him, though all the world should conspire to deprive him of it; or that they can render the doctrine of salvation just, since it is so in itself; but both methods of speaking imply, that those whom the evangelist mentions, attributed to God, and to his word, the glory and praise due to them. On the other hand, when Jesus Christ reproaches the pharisees with 'justifying themselves before men,' he is not to be understood as meaning that they aimed at the acquisition of righteousness by doing good; but that from an ambitious motive they aimed at procuring the reputation of being righteous, though they were entirely devoid of righteousness itself.

grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved; in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his grace.'"

Vide A Sermon an Justification by Faith, by Isaac Barrow, D.D.

" With regard to the subject in hand, St. Paul observes, that God in the scriptures, foreseeing that he would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel, unto Abraham, saying, ' In thee shall all nations be blessed.' How are we, therefore, to understand this expression, unless it be that God considers them as righteous through the medium of faith? Thus, where it is said that God ' might be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus,' what meaning can we attach to the expression, unless it be, that by means of faith he delivereth sinners from that condemnation which they deserve by their impiety? which he expresses still more clearly afterwards, where he exclaims, ' Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.' For it is equivalent to saying, who shall accuse those whom God absolves? Who shall dare to condemn those whom God undertakes to defend? To justify is, therefore, no other than to absolve him who is accused, and to free him from condemnation as though his personal innocence had been acknowledged. Thus, since God justifies through the intervention of Jesus Christ, he absolves us not on the ground of our personal innocence, but by imputing to us the righteousness of his Son; so that we are accounted righteous in Jesus Christ, although not so in ourselves.

"But farther, to abandon a dispute about the word, if we consider with attention the thing itself, as represented to us in the scriptures, there can be no difficulty. For St. Paul makes use of the word *acceptance,* when he intends to shew that God justifies us. 'We are,' says he, 'predestinated unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.'* The apostle's meaning here is synonimous with what he expresses in other passages; that God justifies us freely by his grace. In the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, he asserts primarily that we are just because God accounts us so by his grace; after which he makes our justification consist in the remission of sins. 'Thus,' says he 'David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin. It is evident that he there speaks, not of a detached part of our justification, but of our justification entire. He asserts also that the prophet David expresses it, by pronouncing those happy who have obtained the gratuitous pardon of their faults. From whence it appears evidently, that he considers as two opposite points, being justified, and being considered as guilty. But there is no passage more express in proof of my assertion, than that in which he teaches, that the foundation and essence of the gospel consists in reconciling us unto God, because God is willing to receive us into his favour, by not imputing to us our sins. Let the reader examine carefully the whole text of the apostle. For he immediately adds, that Jesus Christ, who knew no sin, was made sin for us; expressing thereby the method of our reconciliation, and understanding, consequently, nothing by the word to *reconcile,* but, to justify. Nor can his expression in another place be maintained, unless we are considered just before God in Jesus Christ, and out of ourselves."*

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* Ephes. i. 5.

Not to pursue our author in his refutations of the wild reveries of Osiander, whom he opposes; let us listen to the language in which he celebrates the praise of this illustrious doctrine, as it secures and promotes that peace of conscience, which passes all understanding, and includes the pledge and antipast of celestial bliss.

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* Instit. lib. iii. cap. 11.

"If we enquire," says he, "how the conscience may become tranquil, and rejoice before God, we shall find that it is not possible for peace and joy to reign there, unless God of his pure mercy confer upon us his own righteousness. What Solomon observes in his Proverbs, ought ever to be impressed upon our minds. 'Who can say, I have made my heart clean? I am pure from sin.'* There is certainly no man whose heart is not crowded with impurities. Let the most righteous and the most perfect examine their conscience and their conduct. What must be the issue of such a process? Dare they quietly take their repose, as though they had gained their cause by pleading against God, and had henceforth nothing to transact with him? On the contrary, if they are estimated according to their works, will they not be rent by dreadful torments, while they experience that they carry about with them the cause of their condemnation? The conscience, as it respects God, must either enjoy peace with him, without fearing his judgment, or be in perpetual alarms, and as it were, besieged by inconceivable terrors. We, therefore, make no progress while disputing about righteousness, unless we establish such an one, upon the firmness of which our souls may rest and be supported before the tribunal of God.

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* Prov. xx. 9.

"It is, therefore, not without reason that the apostle urges this argument, whose words I abundantly prefer to my own. 'If they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect.'* He infers, that faith becomes useless and void, if righteousness respects the merits of our works, or depends upon the observance of the law.

"The ground of assurance is explained by this apostle, and stated to be the love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.† As if he had said, our souls can never be in a calm and tranquil state, unless we are firmly persuaded that we are acceptable to God. Whence personating believers universally, he exclaims, 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?'‡ For until we have reached this haven, the least storm will be sufficient to alarm us, every gust of wind will make us tremble; but when God shall espouse our cause as our shepherd, we shall walk with confidence through darkness, and even through the shadow of death."*

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* Rom. iv. 14. † Rom. v. 5. ‡ Rom. viii. 35.

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* Instit. lib. iii. cap. 13.

SECTION XI.

On the Perseverance of the Saints.

AGAINST the doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints, an opposition has been raised and perpetuated, not merely on a presumption of the erroneous nature, but also the dangerous tendency of the sentiment. How far it hath deserved such treatment, may be ascertained from the following view of the doctrine itself.

" It is affirmed, that those whom Jesus Christ hath enlightened with the knowledge of himself, and introduced into the bosom of his church, are received, are taken under his protection; and of all whom he receives, it is farther said, that the Father hath committed them unto him, and given him the charge of them, to conduct them to eternal life. What more can be desired? Jesus Christ proclaims in his gospel, that the Father hath placed under his protection, all those whose salvation he hath decreed.* Do we wish to know whether God is careful about our salvation? let us examine his word, and enquire if he hath not entrusted it to Jesus Christ, whom he hath appointed to be the saviour of all who are entrusted to him. If we doubt whether Jesus Christ hath placed us under his protection, he anticipates the doubt by representing himself as our shepherd, and declaring that he will receive us into the number of his sheep, if we will hear his voice. Let us, then, embrace him, since he presents himself to us with so much benignity and anticipates our reception. Doubtless he will place us in the number of the sheep of his flock, and guard us in his fold.

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* John vi. 37. and xvii. 6—12.

"But to this it may be objected, that we ought to be solicitous with respect to what may happen to us; and that when we contemplate futurity, our infirmities admonish us to be continually solicitous. For, as St. Paul says, the people of God are 'called according to his purpose.' Jesus Christ also informs us that, though 'many are called, few are chosen.' St. Paul himself, in another place, cautions us against security; 'Wherefore,' says he, 'let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.' Experience, indeed, teaches us that our faith and calling are but of comparatively little consequence, unless perseverance, which is not universally bestowed, be joined to them.—To this I reply, that Jesus Christ hath delivered us from this uneasiness and perplexity. For there can be no doubt but that his promises relate to futurity. 'All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out. This is the Father's will, which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day.'* 'My sheep,' saith he, elsewhere, 'hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me. And I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. My Father which gave them me is greater than all: and none is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.'†

"By declaring, also, that every plant not planted by his heavenly Father, should be rooted up, he teaches that, on the contrary, it is not possible that those who have taken deep root in God, should be rooted up. In unison with which are those words of the apostle John: 'They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have continued with us.' It was on this ground that the apostle Paul exulted so boldly over life and death, over things present and things to come. Which could only be founded upon the certain persuasion of his perseverance. And he doubtless addresses himself to the whole body of the elect, in the following expression: 'Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ.' David, also, feeling his faith shaken by the violence of temptation, leans upon this prop; 'The Lord,' saith he, 'will perfect that which concerneth me: thy mercy, O Lord, endureth for ever; forsake not the works of thine own hands.' Besides which, it is not to be doubted that Jesus Christ, praying for the elect, besought for them what he requested for St. Peter, 'that their faith might not fail.' From whence we conclude that they are out of danger of falling into apostacy, since the Son of God having prayed on their behalf, that they might remain firm and constant, was not denied his petition. What does Jesus Christ, therefore, intend to teach us here? Certainly, that our eternal salvation is secured, by the circumstance of our having been once given to Jesus Christ.

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* John, vi. 37. 39, 40. † John, x. 27—29.

"But it occurs daily (it will be said), that those who appear to belong to Jesus Christ, fall away and revolt. And that even in the passage where he declares, that none whom the Father had given him could be lost, he excepts the son of perdition. This is true; but it is on the other hand certain, that those persons have never adhered to Jesus Christ with that confidence of heart, upon which we assert the assurance of our election to be founded. 'They went out from us,' as we have just heard from St. John, 'but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have continued with us.' I do not deny but that they may have the same marks of their calling as those of the elect; but I cannot allow them that firm and solid foundation of election which I enjoin the faithful to seek in the word of the gospel. Let not these examples, therefore, make us uneasy, nor prevent our tranquil repose upon the promises of the Lord Jesus, in which he expressly declares, that the Father hath given him all those who have received him with a genuine faith, and that none of them shall perish, since he is their guardian and protector. We shall speak elsewhere of Judas.

"As to what relates to St. Paul, he by no means absolutely prohibits all kinds of confidence, but a certain carnal indolence, and contempt of other men; an indolence which extinguishes humility, overthrows the respect and reverence which we owe to God, and which leads men to forget his benefits. For in that passage he is addressing the Gentiles, whom he teaches that they ought not to insult the Jews, under the pretext, that they having been rejected, they had been substituted in their place. The fear which he requires is not a fear which should induce consternation, but a fear which, instructing us to revere with humility the grace of God, abates in no degree the confidence which we feel in him, as we have elsewhere explained it.

"Add to this, that he is not addressing his discourse particularly to individual believers, but in general to the sects which then existed amongst men. For the church was at that time divided into two parties, and envy and pride being the cause of that divorce, St. Paul admonishes the Pagans, that if they were put in the place of the holy people, peculiarly consecrated to God, such a circumstance ought to furnish them with a motive to fear and modesty. Besides, there were many of them filled with vanity, whose pride and presumption it was necessary to overthrow. We have also seen already, that our hope must be extended to futurity, and even beyond death; and that nothing is more opposed to the nature of hope, than to be in doubt and uncertainty with respect to what may happen to us in futurity."*

The above quotations will, no doubt, convey to the mind of the reader, an accurate conception of the real sentiments of our author. The importance of those sentiments will justify, it is hoped, the extent of the quotation adopted, and supersede the necessity of an apology.

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* Instit. lib. iii. cap. 24.

A considerable degree of interest having been excited on the subject of the doctrinal sentiments of the church of England, it would perhaps appear a real defect in a work of this description, to decline all notice of the subject. To the writer of the present work, the coincidence of the articles and liturgy of the church of England, with the leading truths of Calvinism, appear so evident, that nothing more can be necessary in his opinion, than a simple and unprejudiced comparison, to establish the conviction.

By those who are acquainted with ecclesiastical history, it will also be recollected, that Calvin revised the English liturgy; and that upon his suggestion, several important alterations were made in it. That he corresponded with Cranmer, and that on doctrinal sentiments, there existed an entire uniformity of sentiment between the English and foreign reformers. Differing widely as did Cranmer and Calvin, on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline, it must be obvious to every one, that the instances in which the judgment of Calvin was consulted, must relate to doctrine chiefly, if not exclusively. To denominate the articles of the church of England, *Arminian*, is an instance of the grossest absurdity, as they were drawn up long before Arminius was *born*. To persons disposed to investigate the subject fully, the writer would earnestly recommend, *Toplady's Historic Proof of the Calvinism of the Church of England*, in which work the fact is absolutely *demonstrated*.

The coincidence of Calvinism with our common Christianity, being so intimate, as to subject its assailants to the charge of criminal ignorance; the earnest caution of an eminent divine, lately deceased, who was grieved to observe with what "little knowledge of the subject some adventured to write against Calvinism," deserves the serious attention of every enquirer after religious truth. "Take especial care before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism, and what is not: that in the mass of doctrine which it is of late become the fashion to abuse under the name of Calvinism, you can distinguish with certainty between that part of it, which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common Christianity, and the general faith of the reformed churches; lest when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should unwarily attack something more sacred and of higher origin."*

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* Bishop Horsley's Last Charge.

HISTORICAL APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

REFORMERS.

No. I.

WICKLIFFE (John), the first divine who had the courage to attempt a reformation of religion, and who is on that account called the morning star of the reformation, was born about the year 1324, in the parish of Wycliff, near Richmond, in Yorkshire. Educated at Oxford, first in Queen's, and afterwards in Merton College, he became a Probationer Fellow of the latter. Having acquired the reputation of considerable learning, he was, in 1361, chosen Master of Baliol-hall, and in 1365, constituted Warden of Canterbury College, by Simon de Islip, its founder; from which situation he was, however, ejected by the regulars, together with three Secular Fellows. Conceiving their proceedings arbitrary, he appealed to the pope, who, instead of affording him redress, confirmed the ejectment. Previously disgusted at the enormities of the See of Rome, his enmity thus became confirmed. His credit in the university, however, still continued, and having taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity, he gave public lectures, in which he exposed with severity, the abuses of the Mendicant orders. It was about this time that he published a defence of Edward III. against the pope, who had claimed the homage to which King John had so meanly submitted. On this account, Wickliffe was introduced at court, and appointed one of the ambassadors to Bruges, in 1374, where they met the pope's nuncios, with a view to settle various ecclesiastical affairs, relative to the authority of the Roman pontiff. The king in the mean time presented Wickliffe to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, and in 1375, he obtained a prebendary in the church of Westbury, in Gloucestershire. Hitherto Wickliffe continued to expose the corruptions of the church of Rome unmolested, but in 1377, a bull was dispatched to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Courtney, Bishop of London, requiring them to secure the heretic, and to lay him in irons; the pope at the same time wrote to the king, to interest him in the prosecution, and to the university of Oxford he sent a bull, commanding them to deliver him up. Happily before the arrival of these bulls, Edward III.

being dead, Wickliffe, protected by John, Duke of Lancaster, uncle to Richard II. as well as by the queen-mother, and supported by the citizens of London, eluded the persecution of Gregory IX. who died in 1378. Uninjured by the attempts, and undismayed by the threats of his enemies, this intrepid reformer presented to parliament, in the year following, a paper against the tyranny of Rome; and published a book *On the Truth of the Scriptures,* intended to prepare the public mind for an English translation of them, in which he had made considerable progress.

In the year 1381, he published *Sixteen Conclusions,* in the first of which he attacked the absurdity of transubstantiation. At his living of Lutterworth, he finished his translation of the Bible. This version is a literal translation from the Latin vulgate. In 1383, he was struck with the palsy; a repetition of which terminated his life in December 1384. His body was interred in his own church, where it rested in peace, till the year 1428, when by an order from the pope, his bones were taken up and burnt. In addition to a great variety of published works, he left behind him a prodigious number of manuscripts; a list of which may be seen in Bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britanico-*

Hibernica. Some of them are in the Bodleian library, others in the British Museum, &c.

Considering the times in which Wickliffe lived, he must be considered a very extraordinary man. Struck with the absurdities of the church of Rome, he had the honesty and courage to make an open avowal of his convictions. Nor does it appear that he was at all intimidated by the strength and malice of his inveterate enemies. Well aware that the prosperity of the Latin church must ever bear a proportion to the ignorance of the multitude, and that a knowledge of the scriptures would most effectually expose the villanies of priestcraft, he bestowed upon his countrymen the most patriotic gift—*the Bible in their own tongue.* A little more support would, probably, have enabled him to establish his opinions, which were evidently the foundation of the reformation.*

* See Biog. Brit. Art. Wickliffe.

No. II.

Huss (John) was born in Bohemia, in the year 1376, and educated at Prague, where he entered into orders, became rector of the university, and confessor to the queen. Meeting with some of Wickliffe's writings, in which the errors of popery were exposed, he entered warmly into the views of that great reformer, and commenced a reformation in the university of Prague, in which he was vigorously opposed by the archbishop, who issued two decrees, the effect of which was, the more abundant spreading of the new doctrines. The archbishop's measure having entirely failed, the pope granted a bull for the suppression of the new heresy; cited Huss to appear personally at Rome, and excommunicated him for disobedience. Huss, however, continued in the highest reputation, both on account of his extensive erudition and his powerful eloquence; a reputation which was farther supported by the blameless sanctity of his manners, and the purity of his doctrine. Undismayed by persecution, he continued to declaim with vehemence against the vices of the clergy, in which he was supported by the wise and good, who were disgusted with the encroachments of an ambitious priesthood. The testimony of a Bohemian jesuit to the character of our reformer, must be equally gratifying and unsuspected. "He was more subtile," he observes, "than eloquent; but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be."*

In the propagation of his principles he was honoured by the support of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, until the year 1414, when he was summoned to appear before the council assembled at Constance. Furnished with a safe conduct, by the Emperor Sigismund, promising to preserve him in going to and returning from the council, Huss, in the full consciousness of innocence, repaired to the tribunal of judges, who, acting upon the generous principle that, "no faith is to be kept with heretics," first degraded, and afterwards burnt alive this illustrious martyr, in July 1415. The treatises which he wrote were printed together, at Nuremburg, in 1558.

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* See Bohus Balbinus, Epitom. Rer. Bohem. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431.

No. III.

Jerome, *of Prague,* so called, from the place of his birth, in Bohemia, was neither a monk nor clergyman, but received a learned education. Having embraced the opinions of John Huss, he began to propagate them in the year 1408. With the intention of supporting his friend Huss, he repaired to Constance. Intimidated, however, by the prospect of a cruel death, at which nature revolted, he retracted his opinions; but on the 26th of May, 1416, he condemned his former recantation, and reasserted his real opinions. The testimony of the celebrated Poggio Bracciolini (a Roman catholic), to the eloquence and firmness which our reformer displayed on his trial, as it must necessarily be considered impartial, cannot fail of proving interesting to every protestant reader. "Soon after my return," he observes, "from Baden to Constance, the cause of Jerome of Prague, who was accused of heresy, came to a public hearing. The purport of my present letter is to give you an account of this trial, which must of necessity be a matter of considerable interest, both on account of the importance of the subject, and the eloquence and learning of the defendant. I must confess that I never saw any one who in pleading a cause, especially a cause on the issue of which his own life depended, approached nearer to that standard of ancient eloquence, which we so much admire. It was astonishing to witness with what choice of words, with what closeness of argument, with what confidence of countenance, he replied to his adversaries. So impressive was his peroration, that it is a subject of great concern, that a man of so noble and excellent a genius should have deviated into heresy. On this latter point, however, I cannot help entertaining some doubts. But far be it from me, to take upon myself to decide in so important a matter. I shall acquiesce in the opinion of those who are wiser than myself.

"Do not, however, imagine that I intend to enter into the particulars of this cause. I shall only touch upon the more remarkable and interesting circumstances, which will be sufficient to give you an idea of the learning of the man.

"Many things having been alledged against the prisoner, as proofs of his entertaining heretical notions, and the council being of opinion, that the proof was sufficiently strong to warrant further investigation, it was ordered that he should publicly answer to every particular of the charge. He was accordingly brought before the council. But when he was called upon to give in his answers, he for a long time refused so to do; alledging, that he ought to be permitted to speak generally in his defence, before he replied to the false imputations of his adversaries. This indulgence was, however, denied him. Upon which, standing up in the midst of the assembly—'What gross injustice is this!' exclaimed he, 'that though for the space of three hundred and forty days, which I have spent in filth and fetters, deprived of every comfort, in prisons situated at the most remote distances from each other, you have been continually listening to my adversaries and slanderers, and will not hear me for a single hour! The consequence of this is, that on the one hand, every one's ears are open to them, and they have for so long a time been attempting to persuade you that I am a heretic, an enemy of the true faith, a persecutor of the clergy; and on the other hand, I am deprived of every opportunity of defending myself: you have prejudged my cause, and have in your own minds condemned me, before you could possibly become acquainted with my principles. But,' says he, 'you are not gods, but men; not immortals, but mortals; liable to error, and subject to imperfection. We are taught to believe that this assembly contains the light of the world, the prudent men of the earth. You ought, therefore, to be unremittingly careful not to do any thing rashly, foolishly, or unjustly. I, indeed, who am pleading for my life, am a man of little consequence; nor do I say what I do say through anxiety for myself (for I am prepared to submit to the common lot of mortality)—but I am prompted by an earnest desire, that the collective wisdom of so many eminent men may not, in my person, violate the laws of justice. As to the injury done to myself, it is, comparatively, of trifling consequence; but the precedent will be pregnant with future mischief.' These and many other observations he made with great eloquence; but he was interrupted by the murmurs and clamour of several of his auditors. It was decreed, that he should first answer to the charges exhibited against him, and afterwards have free liberty of speech. The heads of the accusation were accordingly read from the desk. When, after they had been proved by testimony, he was asked whether he had any remarks to make in his defence; it is incredible with what skill and judgment he put in his answers. He advanced nothing unbecoming a good man; and if his real sentiments agreed with his professions, he was so far from deserving to die, that his principles did not even give just ground for the slightest offence. He denied the whole impeachment, as a fiction invented by the malice of his enemies. Among others, an article was read, which accused him of being a detractor of the apostolic see, an oppugner of the Roman pontiff, an enemy of the cardinals, a persecutor of prelates, and an adversary of the Christian clergy. When this charge was read, he arose, and stretching out his hands, he said in a pathetic tone of voice, 'Fathers! to whom shall I have recourse for succour? Whose assistance shall I implore? Unto whom shall I appeal in protestation of my innocence? Unto you? But these my persecutors have prejudiced your minds against me, by declaring that I entertain hostility against all my judges. Thus have they artfully endeavoured, if they cannot reach me by their imputations of error, so to excite your fears, that you may be induced so seize any plausible pretext to destroy your common enemy, such as they most falsely represent me to be. Thus, if you give credit to their assertion, all my hopes of safety are lost.' He caused many to smart by the keenness of his wit, and the bitterness of his reproaches. Melancholy as the occasion was, he frequently excited laughter, by turning to ridicule the imputations of his adversaries. When he was asked what were his sentiments concerning the sacrament, he replied, that it was by nature bread; but that at the time of consecration, and afterwards, it was the true body of Christ, &c. according to the strictest orthodoxy. Then some one said, 'But it is reported that you have maintained, that there remains bread after consecration'——'True,' said Jerome, 'there remains bread at the baker's.' When one of the order of preaching friars was railing against him with uncommon asperity, he said to him—'Hold thy peace, hypocrite.' When another swore by his conscience, 'This,' said he, 'is a very safe mode of deceiving.' One man, who was particularly inveterate against him, he never addressed, but by the title of ass or dog. As on account of the number and importance of the articles exhibited against him, the cause could not be determined at that sitting, the court was adjourned to another day, on which the proofs of each article of impeachment were read over, and confirmed by more witnesses. Then he arose and said, 'Since you have attended so diligently to my adversaries, I have a right to demand that you should also hear me with patience.' Though many violently objected to this demand, it was at length conceded to him that he should be heard in his defence. He then began by solemnly praying to God, so to influence his mind, and so to inspire his speech, that he might be enabled to speak the advantage and salvation of his soul. He then proceeded thus—'I know, most learned judges, that many excellent men have been most unworthily dealt with, overborne by false witnesses, and condemned by the most unjust judgments.' Illustrating this position by particular instances, he began with Socrates, who was unjustly condemned by his countrymen, and who could not be persuaded by the dread of the most formidable evils, imprisonment and death, to avail himself of an opportunity which was presented to him of escaping out of custody. He then proceeded to mention the captivity of Plato, the torments endured by Anaxagoras and Zeno, and the unjust condemnations of many other Gentiles—the banishment of Rutilius, the unmerited death of Boetius, and of others, mentioned in the writings of that author. He then passed on to the instances which are recorded in the Jewish history—and in the first place, he observed, that Moses, the deliverer and legislator of the Jews, was frequently calumniated by his own countrymen, as a seducer and contemner of the people. He also instanced Joseph, who was sold to slavery, in consequence of the envy of his brethren, and afterwards imprisoned under a groundless suspicion of incontinence. Besides these, he enumerated Isaiah, Daniel, and almost all the prophets, who were calumniated and persecuted, as despisers of God, and sowers of sedition. He also alluded to the trial of Susannah, and of many others, who, notwithstanding the integrity of their lives, perished by unjust sentences. Coming down to the time of John the Baptist and our Saviour, he observed, that all are agreed that they were unjustly condemned, upon false charges, supported by false witnesses. He next quoted the case of Stephen, who was put to death by the priests; and reminded the assembly that all the apostles were condemned to die, as seditious movers of the people, contemners of the gods, and workers of iniquity. He maintained, that it was a most scandalous thing that one priest should be unjustly condemned by another; that it was still more scandalous, that a college of priests should be guilty of this crime; and that it was most scandalous of all, that it should be perpetrated by a general council. Nevertheless, he proved from history, that these circumstances had actually occurred. Upon these topics he enlarged in so impressive a manner, that every body listened to him with fixed attention. But as the weight of every cause rests upon the evidence by which it is supported, he proved, by various arguments, that no credit was due to the witnesses who deposed against him, especially as they were instigated to give evidence against him by hatred, malevolence, and envy. He then so satisfactorily detailed the causes of the hatred which he imputed to his prosecutors, that he almost convinced his judges of the reasonableness of his objections against their testimony. His observations were so weighty, that little credit would have been given to the depositions of the witnesses for the prosecution, in any other cause except in a trial for heresy. He moreover added, that he had voluntarily come to the council, in order to defend his injured character, and gave an account of his life and studies, which had been regulated by the laws of duty and of virtue. He remarked, that holy men of old were accustomed to discuss their differences of opinion in matters of belief, not with a view of impugning the faith, but of investigating the truth—that St. Augustine and St. Jerome had thus differed in opinion, and had upon some points even held contrary sentiments, without any suspicion of heresy. All the audience entertained hopes, that he would either clear himself by retracting the heresies which were objected to him, or supplicate pardon for his errors. But he maintained that he had not erred, and that therefore he had nothing to retract. He next began to praise John Huss, who had been condemned to the flames; calling him a good, just, and holy man, a man who had suffered death in a righteous cause. He professed that he himself also was prepared to undergo the severest punishment with an undaunted and constant mind, declaring that he submitted to his enemies, and witnesses who had testified such shameful falsehoods; who would, however, on some future day, give an account of what they had said, to a God who could not be deceived. When Jerome made these declarations, the assembly was affected with the greatest sorrow; for every body wished, that a man of such extraordinary talents should repent of his errors and be saved. But he persisted in his sentiments, and seemed to court destruction. Dwelling on the praises of John Huss, he said, that he had entertained no principles hostile to the constitution of the holy church; and that he only bore testimony against the abuses of the clergy, and the pride and pomp of prelates: for that since the patrimony of the church was appropriated first to the poor, then to strangers, and lastly to the erection of churches, good men thought it highly improper that it should be lavished on harlots, entertainments, dogs, splendid garments, and other things unbecoming the religion of Christ. It may be mentioned as one of the greatest proofs of Jerome's abilities, that though he was frequently interrupted by various noises, and was teazed by some people, who cavilled at his expressions, he replied to them all, and compelled them either to blush, or to be silent. When the clamour incommoded him, he ceased speaking, and sometimes reproved those who disturbed him. He then continued his speech, begging and entreating them to suffer him to speak, since this was the last time they would hear him. He was never terrified by the murmurs of his adversaries, but uniformly maintained the firmness and intrepidity of his mind. It is a wonderful instance of the strength of his memory, that though he had been confined three hundred and forty days in a dark dungeon, where it was impossible for him to read, and where he must have daily suffered from the utmost anxiety of mind; yet he quoted so many learned writers in defence of his opinions, and supported his sentiments by the authority of so many doctors of the church, that any one would have been led to believe, that he had devoted all the time of his imprisonment to the peaceful and undisturbed study of philosophy. His voice was sweet, clear, and sonorous; his action dignified, and well adapted either to express indignation, or to excite compassion, which, however, he neither asked or wished for. He stood undaunted and intrepid, not merely contemning, but, like another Cato, longing for death. He was a man worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance. I do not commend him for entertaining sentiments hostile to the constitution of the church; but I admire his learning, his extensive knowledge, the suavity of his eloquence, and his ability in reply. But I am afraid that all these endowments were bestowed on him by nature, in order to effect his destruction. As he was allowed two days for repentance, several learned men, and amongst the rest, the Cardinal of Florence, visited him, with a view of persuading him to change his sentiments, and turn from the error of his ways. But as he pertinaciously persisted in his false notions, he was condemned as guilty of heresy, and consigned to the flames. No stoic ever suffered death with such constancy of mind. When he arrived at the place of execution, he stripped himself of his garments, and knelt down before the stake, to which he was soon after tied, with wet ropes and a chain. Then great pieces of wood, intermixed with straw, were piled as high as his breast. When fire was set to the pile, he began to sing a hymn, which was scarcely interrupted by the smoke and flame. I must not omit a striking circumstance which shews the firmness of his mind. When the executioner was going to apply the fire behind him, in order that he might not see it, he said, 'Come this way, and kindle it in my sight, for if I had been afraid of it, I should never have come to this place.' Thus perished a man, in every respect exemplary, except in the erroneousness of his faith. I was a witness of his end, and observed every particular of its process. He may have been heretical in his notions, and obstinate in persevering in them;

but he certainly died like a philosopher. I have rehearsed a long story, as I wished to employ my leisure, in relating a transaction which surpasses the events of ancient history. For neither did Mutius suffer his hand to be burnt, so patiently as Jerome endured the burning of his whole body; nor did Socrates drink the hemlock, so cheerfully as Jerome submitted to the fire."*

While it is impossible to read the above account without admiring so sublime a character as that of Jerome, it will not be easy to withhold a portion of our esteem from his amiable biographer. The feeling with which he relates the tragic story, evinces a heart which bigotry and superstition had in vain assailed; a heart in which fair charity presided, and influenced every feeling. It is, indeed, highly probable, that the interest which he took in the illustrious sufferer's cause was blended with disgust at the corrupted state of the pontifical court, and the profligacy of the clergy, which he had reproved with freedom. Nor had he escaped the severity of repoof for his exposure of the vices of the clergy. So great, indeed, was the influence of priestcraft and superstition, that his friend Leonardo Aretino was apprehensive, lest admiration of the talents, and sympathy with the sufferings of a reputed heretic, should subject him to the imputation of a love of heresy. He, therefore, sent him the following admonition: "I received the day before yesterday, by the medium of Barbaro, your letter on the subject of the execution of Jerome, of Prague. I very much admire its elegance; but you seem to give a more ample testimony to the merits of the heretic, than I could wish. You take care, indeed, frequently to put in proper caveats; but upon the whole, you shew too great an affection for his cause. I must advise you henceforth to write upon such subjects in a more guarded manner."

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* See the Life of Poggio Bracciolini, by the Rev. W. Shepherd, chap. ii. p. 78—90.

"The cold caution of Leonardo," says Mr. Shepherd, "may be a quality conducive to the ensurance of personal safety; but the generous warmth of Poggio lays an irresistible claim to the applause of every ingenuous mind."*

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* See the Life of Poggio Bracciolini, by the Rev. W. Shepherd, chap. ii. p. 90.

No. IV.

Erasmus (Desiderius), an illustrious writer, was born at Rotterdam, in the year 1467. At nine years of age, he was sent to Deventer, in Gelderland, where he made a rapid progress in his studies. During his residence at Deventer his mother died of the plague, and the death of his father occurring soon after, our orphan was left to the care of three guardians, who determined upon bringing him up to a religious life, that they might appropriate to themselves his patrimony. Pursuing this base object, they removed him from convent to convent, until in the year 1486, he took the habit among the canons regular at Stein, near Tergou. Disgusted with the monastic life, he cheerfully accepted an invitation from the Archbishop of Cambray, to reside with him. During his abode with this prelate, he was ordained priest; but in 1496, he went to Paris, where he supported himself by giving private lectures. Visiting England in 1497, he met with a liberal reception from the most eminent sholars of the age, and applied to the study of the Greek language, of which he was before ignorant. In 1503, we find him at Louvain, where he studied divinity, under Dr. Adrian Florent, afterwards Adrian VI. Not long after this, he again visited England, for which country he discovered a great regard. In 1506, he took his doctor's degree at Turin, from whence he repaired to Bologna, where he continued some time. Removing afterwards to Venice, he resided with the famous Aldus Manutius. From Venice he went to Padua, and to Rome, where many inducements were offered him to settle; but having received an invitation from Henry VIII, he set out for England, where he arrived in 1510. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, having invited him to Cambridge, he was appointed Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, and Greek Professor. In 1514, he appears to have been at Basil, preparing his New Testament and Epistles of Jerome for the press, which were published in 1516. This appears to have been the first time the New Testament was printed in Greek. The reformation, now began under Luther, received an effective, though by no means decided support from the pen of Erasmus. "His reputation and authority were so high in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and his works were read with such universal admiration, that the effect of these deserves to be mentioned, as one of the circumstances which contributed considerably towards Luther's success. Erasmus, having been destined for the church, and trained up in the knowledge of ecclesiastical literature, applied himself more to theological inquiries than any of the revivers of learning in that age. His acute judgment and extensive erudition enabled him to discover many errors, both in the doctrine and worship of the Romish church. Some of these he confuted with great solidity of reasoning, and force of eloquence. Others he treated as objects of ridicule, and turned against them that irresistible torrent of popular and satirical wit, of which he had the command. There was hardly any opinion or practice of the Romish church which Luther endeavoured to reform, but what had been previously animadverted upon by Erasmus, and had afforded him subject either of censure or of raillery. Accordingly, when Luther first began his attack upon the church, Erasmus seemed to applaud his conduct: he courted the friendship of several of his disciples and patrons, and condemned the behaviour and spirit of his adversaries. He concurred openly with him in inveighing against the school divines, as the teachers of a system equally unedifying and obscure. He joined him in endeavouring to turn the attention of men to the study of the holy scriptures, as the only standard of religious truth.

"Various circumstances, however, prevented Erasmus from holding the same course with Luther. The natural timidity of his temper; his want of that strength of mind which alone can prompt a man to assume the character of a reformer; his excessive deference for persons in high station; his dread of losing the pensions and other emoluments, which their liberality had conferred upon him; his extreme love of peace, and hopes of reforming abuses gradually, and by gentle methods, all concurred in determining him, not only to repress and to moderate the zeal with which he had once been animated against the errors of the church, but to assume the character of a mediator between Luther and his opponents. But, though Erasmus soon began to censure Luther as too daring and impetuous, and was at last prevailed upon to write against him, he must, nevertheless, be considered as his forerunner and auxiliary in this war upon the church. He first scattered the seeds, which Luther cherished and brought to maturity. His raillery and oblique censures prepared the way for Luther's invectives and more direct attacks. In this light, Erasmus appeared to the zealous defenders of the Romish church in his own times. In this light he must be considered by every person conversant in the history of that period."*

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* See Robertson's History of Charles V.

The want of sufficient strength of mind to enable him to take a prominent station among the reformers, is admitted by Erasmus himself. "Luther," says he, "has given us many a wholesome doctrine, and many a good counsel. I wish he had not defeated the effect of them by intolerable faults. But if he had written every thing in the most unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the sake of the truth. Every man hath not the courage requisite to make a martyr; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial I should imitate St. Peter."*

Dying at Basil, in the year 1536, he was buried in the cathedral of that city. The inhabitants of Rotterdam erected a statue to his memory, in the great square of that city. His works were edited at Leyden, in 1706, in ten volumes, folio, by Le Clerc.

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* Epist. Erasmi in Jortin's Life of Erasm. vol. i. p. 273.

No. V.

Luther (Martin), the great reformer, was born at Isleben, in Saxony, of poor parentage, in the year 1483. In 1501, he was sent to the university of Erfurt, where he studied philosophy and the civil law. Walking one day in the fields with a fellow student, his companion was struck dead with lightning. This circumstance made so deep an impression upon the mind of Luther, that, resolving to retire from the world, he entered a monastery of the order of St. Augustine, where he led a studious and contemplative life. "He soon acquired," says an elegant historian, "great reputation, not only for piety, but for his love of knowledge and his unwearied application to study. He had been taught the scholastic philosophy and theology, which were then in vogue, by very able masters; and wanted not penetration to comprehend all the niceties and distinctions with which they abound: but his understanding, naturally sound and superior to every thing frivolous, soon became disgusted with those subtile and uninstructive sciences, and sought for some more solid foundation of knowledge and of piety, in the holy scriptures. Having found a copy of the Bible, which lay neglected in the library of his monastery, he abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted himself to the study of it with such eagerness and assiduity, as astonished the monks, who were little accustomed to derive their theological notions from that source. The great progress which he made in this uncommon course of study, augmented so much the fame, both of his sanctity and of his learning, that Frederick, Elector of Saxony, having founded an university at Wittemberg on the Elbe, the place of his residence, Luther was chosen, first to teach philosophy, and afterwards theology there; and discharged both offices in such a manner, that he was deemed the chief ornament of that society.

" While Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publish indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, and to ascribe to them the same imaginary virtues which had, in other places, imposed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany, Tetzel met with prodigious success there. It was with the utmost concern that Luther beheld the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought, indulgences. The opinions of Thomas Aquinas and the other schoolmen, on which the doctrine of Indulgences was founded, had already lost much of their authority with him; and the scriptures, which he began to consider as the great standard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice, equally subversive of faith and of morals. His warm and impetuous temper did not suffer him long to conceal such important discoveries, or to continue a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. From the pulpit, in the great church at Wittemberg, he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities and vices of the monks who published indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation upon any other means than those appointed by God in his word. The boldness and novelty of these opinions drew great attention, and being recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive eloquence, they made a deep impression upon his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, Elector of Mentz, and Archbishop of Magdeberg, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions, as well as wicked lives of the preachers of indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to correct their abuses. His next attempt was to gain the suffrage of men of learning. For this purpose he published ninety-five theses, containing his sentiments with regard to indulgences. These he proposed, not as points fully established, or of undoubted certainty, but as subjects of inquiry and disputation; he appointed a day on which the learned were invited to impugn them, either in person or by writing; to the whole he subjoined solemn protestations of his high respect for the apostolic see, and of his implicit submission to its authority. No opponent appeared at the time mentioned; the theses spread over Germany with astonishing rapidity; they were read with the greatest eagerness; and all admired the boldness of the man, who had ventured, not only to call in question the plenitude of the papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the terrors of inquisitorial authority.

"The friars of St. Augustine (Luther's own order), though addicted with no less obsequiousness than the other monastic fraternities to the papal see, gave no check to the publication of these uncommon opinions. Luther had, by his piety and learning, acquired extraordinary authority among his brethren; he professed the highest regard for the authority of the pope: his professions were at that time sincere; and as a secret enmity, excited by interest or emulation, subsists among all orders in the Romish church, the Augustinians were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans, and hoped to see them exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people. Nor was his sovereign, the Elector of Saxony, (the wisest prince at that time in Germany,) dissatisfied with this obstruction which Luther threw in the way of the publication of indulgences. He secretly encouraged the attempt, and flattered himself that this dispute among the ecclesiastics themselves, might give some check to the exactions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had long, though without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

"Many zealous champions immediately arose to defend opinions on which the wealth and power of the church were founded, against Luther's attacks. In opposition to these theses, Tetzel published counter theses, at Francfort on the Oder; Eccius, a celebrated divine of Ausburg, endeavoured to refute Luther's notions; and Prierias, a Dominican friar, master of the sacred palace, and inquisitor-general, wrote against him with all the virulence of a scholastic disputant. But the manner in which they conducted the controversy, did little service to their cause. Luther attempted to combat indulgences by arguments founded in reason, or derived from scripture; they produced nothing in support of them, but the sentiments of schoolmen, the conclusions of the canon law, and the decrees of popes. The decision of judges so partial and interested, did not satisfy the people, who began to call in question the authority even of these venerable guides, when they found them standing in direct opposition to the dictates of reason, and the determinations of the divine law.

"Meanwhile, these novelties in Luther's doctrines, which interested all Germany, excited little attention, and no alarm in the court of Rome. Leo, fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a stranger to theological controversies and apt to despise them, regarded with the utmost indifference, the operations of an obscure friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a scholastic disputation in a barbarous style. Little did he apprehend, or Luther himself dream, that the effects of this quarrel would be so fatal to the papal see. Leo imputed the whole to monastic enmity and emulation, and seemed inclined not to interpose in the contest, but to allow the Augustinians and Dominicans to wrangle about the matter with their usual animosity.

"The solicitations, however, of Luther's adversaries, who were exasperated to a high degree by the boldness and severity with which he animadverted on their writings, together with the surprising progress which his opinions made in different parts of Germany, roused at last the attention of the court of Rome, and obliged Leo to take measures for the security of the church against an attack that now appeared too serious to be despised. For this end, he summoned Luther to appear at Rome, within sixty days, before the auditor of the chamber, and the inquisitor-general, Prierias, who had written against him, whom he empowered jointly to examine his doctrines, and to decide concerning them. He wrote, at the same time, to the Elector of Saxony, beseeching him not to protect a man whose heretical and profane tenets were so shocking to pious ears; and enjoined the provincial of the Augustinians to check, by his authority, the rashness of an arrogant monk, which brought disgrace upon the order of St. Augustine, and gave offence and disturbance to the whole church.

"From the strain of these letters, as well as from the nomination of a judge so prejudiced and partial as Prierias, Luther easily saw what sentence he might expect at Rome. He discovered, for that reason, the utmost solicitude to have his cause tried in Germany, and before a less suspected tribunal. The professors in the university of Wittemberg, anxious for the safety of a man who did so much honour to their society, wrote to the pope, and after employing several pretexts to excuse Luther from appearing at Rome, intreated Leo to commit the examination of his doctrines to some persons of learning and authority in Germany. The elector requested the same thing of the pope's legate at the diet of Ausburg; and as Luther himself, who, at that time was so far from having any intention to disclaim the papal authority, that he did not even entertain the smallest suspicion concerning its divine original, had written to Leo, a most submissive letter, promising an unreserved compliance with his will; the pope gratified them so far as to empower his legate in Germany, Cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and passionately devoted to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause.

"Luther, though he had good reason to decline a judge chosen among his avowed adversaries, did not hesitate about appearing before Cajetan; and having obtained the emperor's safe-conduct, immediately repaired to Ausburg. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured at first to gain upon him by gentle treatment; but thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute with a person of such inferior rank, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was clothed, to retract the errors which he had uttered, with regard to indulgences, and the nature of faith; and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, fully persuaded of the truth of his own tenets, and confirmed in the belief of them by the approbation which they had met with among persons conspicuous both for learning and piety, was surprised at this abrupt mention of a recantation, before any endeavours were used to convince him that he was mistaken. He had flattered himself, that in a conference concerning the points in dispute with a prelate of such distinguished abilities, he should be able to remove many of those imputations with which the ignorance or malice of his antagonists had loaded him; but the high tone of authority that the cardinal assumed, extinguished at once all hopes of this kind, and cut off every prospect of advantage from the interview. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not desert him. He declared, with the utmost firmness, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; nor should any consideration ever induce him to do what would be so base in itself, and so offensive to God. At the same time, he continued to express no less reverence than formerly for the apostolic see; he signified his willingness to submit the whole controversy to certain universities which he named, and promised neither to write nor to preach concerning indulgences for the future, provided his adversaries were likewise enjoined to be silent with respect to them. All these offers Cajetan disregarded or rejected, and still insisted peremptorily on a simple recantation, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures, and forbidding him to appear again in his presence, unless he resolved instantly to comply with what he had required. This haughty and violent manner of proceeding, as well as other circumstances, gave Luther's friends such strong reasons to suspect, that even the imperial safe-conduct would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and resentment, that they prevailed on him to withdraw secretly from Ausburg, and to return to his own country. But before his departure, according to a form of which there had been some examples, he prepared a solemn appeal, from the pope ill-informed at that time concerning his cause, to the pope when he should receive more full information with respect to it.

"Cajetan, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and at the publication of his appeal, wrote to the Elector of Saxony, complaining of both; and requiring him, as he regarded the peace of the church, or the authority of its head, either to send that seditious monk a prisoner to Rome, or to banish him out of his territories. It was not from theological considerations that Frederick had hitherto countenanced Luther; he seems to have been much a stranger to controversies of that kind, and to have been little interested in them. His protection flowed almost entirely, as hath been already observed, from political motives, and was afforded with great secresy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's discourses, nor read any of his books; and though all Germany resounded with his fame he had never once admitted him into his presence. But upon this demand which the cardinal made, it became necessary to throw off somewhat of his former reserve. He had been at great expence, and had bestowed much attention on founding a new university, an object of considerable importance to every German prince; and foreseeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be to its reputation, he, under various pretexts, and with many professions of esteem for the cardinal, as well as of reverence for the pope, not only declined complying with either of his requests, but openly discovered great concern for Luther's safety.

"The inflexible rigour with which Cajetan insisted on a simple recantation, gave great offence to Luther's followers in that age, and hath since been censured as imprudent, by several popish writers. But it was impossible for the legate to act another part. The judges before whom Luther had been required to appear at Rome, were so eager to display their zeal against his errors, that without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days allowed him in the citation, they had already condemned him as an heretic. Leo had, in several of his briefs and letters, stigmatized him as a child of iniquity, and a man given up to a reprobate sense. Nothing less, therefore, than a recantation could save the honour of the church, whose maxim it is, never to abandon the smallest point that it has established, and which is even precluded, by its pretentions to infallibility, from having it in its power to do so.

"Luther's situation, meanwhile, was such as would have filled any other person with the most disquieting apprehensions. He could not expect that a prince so prudent and cautious as Frederick, would, on his account, set at defiance the thunders of the church, and brave the papal power, which had crushed some of the most powerful of the German emperors. He knew what veneration was paid, at that time, to ecclesiastical decisions; what terrors ecclesiastical censures carried along with them, and how easily these might intimidate and shake a prince who was rather his protector from policy, than his disciple from conviction. If he should be obliged to quit Saxony, he had no prospect of any other asylum, and must stand exposed to whatever punishment the rage or bigotry of his enemies could inflict. Though sensible of his danger, he discovered no symptoms of timidity or remissness, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to inveigh against those of his adversaries with more vehemence than ever.

"But as every step taken by the court of Rome, particularly the irregular sentence by which he had so precipitately been declared a heretic, convinced Luther that Leo would soon proceed to the most violent measures against him, he had recourse to the only expedient in his power, in order to prevent the effect of the papal censures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the representative of the catholic church, and superior in power to the pope, who, being a fallible man, might err, as St. Peter, the most perfect of his predecessors, had erred.

"It soon appeared that Luther had not formed rash conjectures concerning the intentions of the Romish church. A bull, of a date prior to his appeal, was issued by the pope, in which he magnifies the virtue and efficacy of indulgences, in terms as extravagant as any of his predecessors had ventured to use in the darkest ages; and without applying such palliatives, or mentioning such concessions, as a more enlightened period, and the disposition in the minds of many men at that juncture, seemed to call for, he required all christians to assent to what he had delivered, as the doctrine of the catholic church, and subjected those who should hold or teach any contrary opinion, to the heaviest ecclesiastical censures.

"Among Luther's followers, this bull, which they considered as an unjustifiable effort of the pope, in order to preserve that rich branch of his revenue which arose from indulgences, produced little effect. But, among the rest of his countrymen, such a clear decision of the sovereign pontiff against him, and enforced by such dreadful penalties, must have been attended with consequences very fatal to his cause, if these had not been prevented in a great measure by the death of the Emperor Maximilian, whom both his principles and his interest prompted to support the authority of the holy see. In consequence of this event, the vicariat of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws, devolved to the Elector of Saxony; and under the shelter of his friendly administration, Luther not only enjoyed tranquillity, but his opinions were suffered, during the inter-regnum which preceded Charles's election, to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. At the same time, as the election of an emperor was a point more interesting to Leo, than a theological controversy, which he did not understand, and of which he could not foresee the consequences, he was so extremely solicitous not to irritate a prince of such considerable influence in the electoral college as Frederick, that he discovered a great unwillingness to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Luther, which his adversaries continually demanded with the most clamorous importunity.

"To these political views of the pope, as well as to his natural aversion from severe measures, was owing the suspension of any further proceedings against Luther for eighteen months. Perpetual negociations, however, in order to bring the matter to some amicable issue, were carried on during that space. The manner in which these were conducted having given Luther many opportunities of observing the corruption of the church of Rome; its obstinacy in adhering to established errors; and its indifference about truth, however clearly proposed or strongly proved, he began to utter some doubts with regard to the divine original of the papal authority. A public disputation was held upon this important question, at Leipsic, between Luther and Eccius, one of his most learned and formidable antagonists; but it was as fruitless and indecisive as such scholastic combats usually prove. Both parties boasted of having obtained the victory; both were confirmed in their own opinions; and no progress was made towards deciding the point in controversy.

"Nor did this spirit of opposition to the doctrines and usurpations of the Romish church break out in Saxony alone; an attack no less violent, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them about this time in Switzerland. The Franciscans being entrusted with the promulgation of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same indiscretion and rapaciousness which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Germany. They proceeded, nevertheless, with uninterrupted success, till they arrived at Zurich. There Zuinglius, a man not inferior to Luther himself in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppose them; and being animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a prince imposed on the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion. The appearance of such a vigorous auxiliary, and the progress which he made, was, at first, matter of great joy to Luther. On the other hand, the decrees of the university of Cologne and Louvain, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous, afforded great cause of triumph to his adversaries.

"But the undaunted spirit of Luther acquired additional fortitude from every instance of opposition; and pushing on his inquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, he began to shake the firmest foundations on which the wealth or power of the church were established. Leo came at last to be convinced, that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were vain; several prelates of great wisdom exclaimed no less than Luther's personal adversaries, against the pope's unprecedented lenity in permitting an incorrigible heretic, who, during three years had been endeavouring to subvert every thing sacred and venerable, still to remain within the bosom of the church; the dignity of the papal see rendered the most vigorous proceedings necessary; the new emperor, it was hoped, would support its authority; nor did it seem probable that the Elector of Saxony would so far forget his usual caution, as to set himself in opposition to their united power. The college of cardinals was often assembled, in order to prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the ablest canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with unexceptionable formality. At last, on the 15th of June, 1520, the bull, so fatal to the church of Rome, was issued. Forty-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's works, are therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; all persons are forbidden to read his writings, upon pain of excommunication; such as had any of them in their custody are commanded to commit them to the flames; he himself, if he did not, within sixty days, publicly recant his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obstinate heretic; is excommunicated, and delivered unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular princes are required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved.

"The publication of this bull in Germany excited various passions in different places. Luther's adversaries exulted, as if his party and opinions had been crushed at once by such a decisive blow. His followers, whose reverence for the papal authority daily diminished, read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In some cities, the people violently obstructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, the persons who attempted to publish it were insulted, and the bull itself torn in pieces, and trodden under foot.

"This sentence, which he had for some time expected, did not disconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to the general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication; and being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injustice in his proceedings against him, he boldly declared the pope to be that man of sin, or Antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament; he declaimed against his tyranny and usurpations with greater violence than ever; he exhorted all christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke; and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his expressions of contempt for the papal power to words alone; Leo having, in execution of the bull, appointed Luther's books to be burnt at Rome, he, by way of retaliation, assembled all the professors and students in the university of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, in the presence of a vast multitude of spectators, cast the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames; and his example was imitated in several cities of Germany. The manner in which he justified this action was still more offensive than the action itself. Having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plentitude and omnipotence of the papal power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to the authority of the holy see; he published these, with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil government.

"Such was the progress which Luther had made, and such the state of his party, when Charles arrived in Germany. No secular prince had hitherto embraced Luther's opinions; no change in the established forms of worship had been introduced; and no encroachments had been made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy; neither party had yet proceeded to action; and the controversy, though conducted with great heat and passion on both sides, was still carried on with its proper weapons, with theses, disputations, and replies. A deep impression, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken; and the materials were already scattered, which kindled into the combustion that soon spread over all Germany. Students crowded from every province of the empire to Wittemberg; and under Luther himself, Melancthon, Carlostadius, and other masters then reckoned eminent, imbibed opinions, which, on their return, they propagated among their countrymen, who listened to them with that fond attention which truth, when accompanied with novelty, naturally commands.

"During the course of these transactions, the court of Rome, though under the direction of one of its ablest pontiffs, neither formed its schemes with that profound sagacity, nor executed them with that steady perseverance, which had long rendered it the most perfect model of political wisdom to the rest of Europe. When Luther began to declaim against indulgences, two different methods of treating him lay before the pope; by adopting one of which, the attempt, it is probable, might have been crushed; and by the other, it might have been rendered innocent. If Luther's first departure from the doctrines of the church had instantly drawn upon him the weight of its censures, the dread of these might have restrained the Elector of Saxony from protecting him, might have deterred the people from listening to his discourses, or even might have overawed Luther himself; and his name, like that of many good men before his time, would now have been known to the world only for his honest, but ill-timed effort to correct the corruptions of the Romish church. On the other hand, if the pope had early testified some displeasure with the vices and excesses of the friars who had been employed in publishing indulgences; if he had forbidden the mention of controverted points in discourses addressed to the people; if he had enjoined the disputants on both sides to be silent; if he had been careful not to risk the credit of the church by defining articles which had hitherto been left undetermined, Luther would, probably, have stopped short at his first discoveries: he would not have been forced, in self-defence, to venture upon new ground, and the whole controversy might possibly have died away insensibly; or being confined entirely to the schools, might have been carried on with as little detriment to the peace and unity of the

Romish church, as that which the Franciscans maintain with the Dominicans, concerning the immaculate conception; or that between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning the operations of grace. But Leo, by fluctuating between these opposite systems, and by embracing them alternately, defeated the effects of both. By an improper exertion of authority, Luther was exasperated, but not restrained. By a mistaken exercise of lenity, time was given for his opinions to spread, but no progress was made towards reconciling him to the church; and even the sentence of excommunication, which at another juncture might have been decisive, was delayed so long, that it became at last scarcely an object of terror.

"Such a series of errors in the measures of a court, seldom chargeable with mistaking its own true interest, is not more astonishing than the wisdom which appeared in Luther's conduct. Though a perfect stranger to the maxims of worldly wisdom, and incapable, from the impetuosity of his temper, of observing them, he was led naturally by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their success, than if every step he took had been prescribed by the most artful policy. At the time when he set himself to oppose Tetzel, he was far from intending that reformation which he afterwards effected; and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at last he gloried in accomplishing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind all at once, by any special revelation; he acquired it by industry and meditation, and his progress, of consequence, was gradual. The doctrines of popery are so closely connected, that the exposing of one error conducted him naturally to the detection of others; and all the parts of that artificial fabric were so united together, that the pulling down of one, loosened the foundation of the rest, and rendered it more easy to overturn them. In confuting the extravagant tenets, concerning indulgences, he was obliged to inquire into the true cause of our justification and acceptance with God. The knowledge of that, discovered to him by degrees, the inutility of pilgrimages and penances; the vanity of relying on the intercession of saints; the impiety of worshipping them; the abuses of auricular confession; and the imaginary existence of purgatory. The detection of so many errors, led him of course to consider the character of the clergy who taught them; and their exorbitant wealth, the severe injunction of celibacy, together with the intolerable rigour of monastic vows, appeared to him the great sources of their corruption. From thence, it was but one step to call in question the divine original of the papal power, which authorised and supported such a system of errors. As the unavoidable result of the whole, he disclaimed the infallibility of the pope, the decisions of schoolmen or any other human authority, and appealed to the word of God as the only standard of theological truth. To this gradual progress Luther owed his success. His hearers were not shocked at first by any proposition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. They were conducted insensibly from one doctrine to another. Their faith and conviction were able to keep pace with his discoveries. To the same cause was owing the inattention, and even indifference with which Leo viewed Luther's first proceedings. A direct or violent attack upon the authority of the church, would at once have drawn upon Luther the whole weight of its vengeance; but as this was far from his thoughts, as he continued long to profess great respect for the pope, and made repeated offers of submission to his decisions, there seemed to be no reason for apprehending that he would prove the author of any desperate revolt; and he was suffered to proceed, step by step, in undermining the constitution of the church, until the remedy applied at last, came too late to produce any effect."

The diet at Worms, assembled in the year 1521, in the course of its proceedings, which were conducted with the slow formality common to such assemblies, naturally took into consideration the state of religion at that period. Had Charles's dominions been confined to Germany, it is highly probable that he would have patronised a man who had so vigorously asserted the privileges and immunities for which the empire had so long contended with papal rapacity. Alarmed, however, by the dangerous schemes which Francis I. was forming against him, and considering the pope's friendship of supreme importance, he resolved to treat Luther with marked severity, as the most effectual method of ingratiating himself with Leo. Under the influence of these views he discovered a willingness to listen to the papal legates in Germany, who contended that the diet ought instantly to condemn a man whom the pope had already condemned and excommunicated. The members of the diet were not, however, to be precipitated into a measure so unjust and unprecedented. They, therefore, required Luther's personal appearance, and wished him to declare whether he adhered or not to those opinions which had subjected him to church censure. The emperor, as well as all the princes through whose territories he had to pass, readily granted him a safe-conduct; and Charles wrote to him, requiring his attendance on the diet, and assuring him of ample protection. "Luther did not hesitate one moment about yielding obedience, and set out for Worms, attended by the herald who had brought the emperor's letter and safe-conduct. While on his journey, many of his friends, whom the fate of Huss, under similar circumstances, and notwithstanding the same security of an imperial safe-conduct, filled with solicitude, advised and intreated him not to rush wantonly into the midst of danger. But Luther, superior to such terrors, silenced them with this reply: 'I am lawfully called,' said he, 'to appear in that city, and thither will I go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houses, were there combined against me.'

"The reception which he met with at Worms, was such as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labours, if vanity and the love of applause had been the principles by which he was influenced. Greater crowds assembled to behold him, than had appeared at the emperor's public entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, and he was treated with all the respect paid to those who possess the power of directing the understanding and sentiments of other men; an homage, more sincere, as well as more flattering, than any which pre-eminence in birth or condition can command. At his appearance before the diet, he behaved with great decency, and with equal firmness. He readily acknowledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings, but refused to retract his opinions, unless he was convinced of their falsehood; or to consent to their being tried by any other rule than the word of God. When neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on him to depart from this resolution, some of the ecclesiastics proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, and by punishing the author of this pestilent heresy, who was now in their power, to deliver the church at once from such an evil. But the members of the diet refusing to expose the German integrity to fresh reproach by a second violation of public faith; and Charles being no less unwilling to bring a stain upon the beginning of his administration by such an ignominious action, Luther was permitted to depart in safety. A few days after he left the city, a severe edict was published in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, depriving him, as an obstinate and excommunicated criminal, of all the privileges which he enjoyed as a subject of the empire, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person as soon as the term specified in his safe-conduct was expired.

"But this rigorous decree had no considerable effect, the execution of it being prevented, partly by the multiplicity of occupations which the commotions in Spain, together with the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, created to the emperor; and partly by a prudent precaution employed by the Elector of Saxony, Luther's faithful and discerning patron. As Luther, on his return from Worms, was passing near Altenstein, in Thuringia, a number of horsemen in masks, rushed suddenly out of a wood, where the elector had appointed them to lie in wait for him, and surrounding his company, carried him, after dismissing all his attendants, to Wartburg, a strong castle not far distant. There the elector ordered him to be supplied with every thing necessary or agreeable, but the place of his retreat was carefully concealed, until the fury of the present storm against him began to abate, upon a change in the political situation of Europe. In this solitude, where he remained nine months, and which he frequently called his Patmos, after the name of that island to which the apostle John was banished, he exerted his usual vigour and industry in defence of his doctrines, or in confutation of his adversaries, publishing several treatises, which revived the spirit of his followers, astonished to a great degree, and disheartened at the sudden disappearance of their leader.

"During his confinement, his opinions continued to gain ground, acquiring the ascendant in almost every city in Saxony. At this time, the Augustinians of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the university, and the connivance of the elector, ventured upon the first step towards an alteration in the established forms of public worship, by abolishing the celebration of private masses, and by giving the cup as well as the bread to the laity, in administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

"Whatever consolation the courage and success of his disciples, or the progress of his doctrines in his own country, afforded Luther in his retreat, he there received information of two events which considerably damped his joy, as they seemed to lay insuperable obstacles in the way of propagating his principles, in the two most powerful kingdoms of Europe. One was, a solemn decree, condemning his opinions, published by the university of Paris, the most ancient, and at that time, the most respectable of the learned societies in Europe. The other was the answer written to his book, concerning the Babylonish captivity, by Henry VIII. of England. That monarch, having been educated under the eye of a suspicious father, who, in order to prevent his attending to business, kept him occupied in the study of literature, still retained a greater love of learning, and stronger habits of application to it, than are common among princes of so active a disposition and such violent passions. Being ambitious of acquiring glory of every kind, as well as zealously attached to the Romish church, and highly exasperated against Luther, who had treated Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author, with great contempt, Henry did not think it enough to exert his royal authority in opposing the opinions of the reformer, but resolved, likewise, to combat them with scholastic weapons. With this view he published his treatise on the Seven Sacraments, which, though forgotten at present, as books of controversy always are, when the occasion that produced them is past, is not destitute of polemical ingenuity and acuteness, and was represented by the flattery of his courtiers to be a work of such wonderful science and learning, as exalted him no less above other authors in merit, than he was distinguished among them by his rank. The pope, to whom it was presented with the greatest formality in full consistory, spoke of it in such terms, as if it had been dictated by immediate inspiration; and as a testimony of the gratitude of the church for his extraordinary zeal, conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, an appellation which Henry soon forfeited in the opinion of those from whom he derived it, and which is still retained by his successors, though the avowed enemies of those opinions, by contending for which he merited that honourable distinction. Luther, who was not overawed, either by the authority of the university, or the dignity of the monarch, soon published his animadversions on both, in a style no less vehement and severe, than he would have used in confuting his meanest antagonist. This indecent boldness, instead of shocking his contemporaries, was considered by them as a new proof of his undaunted spirit. A controversy managed by disputants so illustrious, drew more general attention; and such was the contagion of the spirit of innovation, diffused through Europe in that age, and so powerful the evidence that accompanied the doctrines of the reformers on their first publication, that, in spite both of the civil and ecclesiastical powers combined against them, they daily gained converts, both in France and in England.

"During Luther's confinement in his retreat at Wartburg, Carlostadius, one of his disciples, animated with the same zeal, but possessed of less prudence and moderation than his master, began to propagate wild and dangerous opinions, chiefly among the lower people. Encouraged by his exhortations, they rose in several villages of Saxony, broke into the churches with tumultuary violence, and threw down and destroyed the images with which they were adorned. Those irregular and outrageous proceedings were so repugnant to all the elector's cautious maxims, that, if they had not received a timely check, they could hardly have failed of alienating from the reformers, a prince, no less jealous of his own authority, than afraid of giving offence to the emperor, and other patrons of the ancient opinions. Luther, sensible of the danger, immediately quitted his retreat, without waiting for Frederick's permission, and returned to Wittemberg. Happily for the reformation, the veneration for his person and authority was still so great, that his appearance alone suppressed that spirit of extravagance which began to seize his party. Carlostadius and his fanatical followers, struck dumb by his rebukes, submitted at once, and declared that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man.

"Before Luther left his retreat, he had begun to translate the Bible into the German tongue, an undertaking of no less difficulty than importance, of which he was extremely fond, and for which he was well qualified. He had a competent knowledge in the original languages; a thorough acquaintance with the style and sentiments of the inspired writers; and though his compositions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great master of the purity of his mother tongue, and could express himself with all the eloquence of which it is capable. By his own assiduous application, together with the assistance of Melancthon, and several other of his disciples, he finished part of the New Testament in the year 1522; and the publication of it proved more fatal to the church of Rome, than that of all his own works. It was read with wonderful avidity and attention by persons of every rank. They were astonished at discovering how contrary the precepts of the Author of our religion are, to the inventions of those priests who pretended to be his vicegerents; and having now in their hand the rule of faith, they thought themselves qualified, by applying it, to judge of the established opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to the standard, or when they departed from it. The great advantages arising from Luther's translation of the Bible, encouraged the advocates for reformation, in the other countries of Europe, to imitate his example, and to publish versions of the scriptures in their respective languages.

"About this time, Nuremberg, Francfort, Hamburg, and several other cities in Germany, of the first rank, openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magissrates, abolished the mass, and the other superstitious rites of popery. The Elector of Brandenburgh, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and Prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their subjects.

"The court of Rome beheld this growing defection with great concern; and Adrian's first care, after his arrival in Italy, had been to deliberate with the cardinals, concerning the proper means of putting a stop to it. He was profoundly skilled in scholastic theology, and having been early taken notice of on that account, he still retained such an excessive admiration of the science to which he was first indebted for his reputation and success in life, that he considered Luther's invectives against the schoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as little less than blasphemy. All the tenets of that doctor appeared to him so clear and irrefragable, that he supposed every person who called in question or contradicted them, to be either blinded by ignorance, or to be acting in opposition to the dictates of his own mind. Of course, no pope was ever more bigoted or inflexible with regard to points of doctrine, than Adrian; he not only maintained them as Leo had done, because they were ancient, or because it was dangerous for the church to allow of innovations; but he adhered to them with the zeal of a theologian, and with the tenaciousness of a disputant. At the same time, his own manners being extremely simple, and uninfected with any of the vices which reigned in the court of Rome, he was as sensible of its corruptions as the reformers themselves, and viewed them with no less indignation. The brief which he addressed to the diet of the empire, assembled at Nuremberg, and the instructions which he gave Cheregato, the nuncio whom he sent thither, were framed agreeable to these views. On the one hand, he condemned Luther's opinions with more asperity and rancour of expression than Leo had ever used; he severely censured the princes of Germany, for suffering him to spread his pernicious tenets, by their neglecting to execute the edict of the diet at Worms, and required them, if Luther did not instantly retract his errors, to destroy him with fire, as a gangrened and incurable member, in like manner as Dathan and Abiram had been cut off by Moses, Ananias and Sapphira by the apostles, and John Huss and Jerome, of Prague, by their ancestors. On the other hand, he, with great candour, and in the most explicit terms, acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman court to be the source from which had flowed most of the evils the church now felt or dreaded; he promised to exert all his authority towards reforming these abuses, with as much dispatch as the nature and inveteracy of the disorders would admit; and he requested of them to give him their advice with regard to the most effectual means of suppressing that new heresy which had sprung up among them.

"The members of the diet, after praising the pope's pious and laudable intentions, excused themselves for not executing the edict of Worms, by alledging that the prodigious increase of Luther's followers, as well as the aversion to the court of Rome among their other subjects, on account of its innumerable exactions, rendered such an attempt not only dangerous, but impossible. They affirmed, that the grievances of Germany, which did not arise from imaginary injuries, but from impositions no less real than intolerable, as his holiness would learn from a catalogue of them which they intended to lay before him, called now for some new and efficacious remedy; and, in their opinion, the only remedy adequate to the disease, or which afforded them any hopes of seeing the church restored to soundness and vigour, was a general council. Such a council, therefore, they advised him, after obtaining the emperor's consent, to assemble without delay, in one of the great cities of Germany, that all who had right to be present might deliberate with freedom, and propose their opinions with such boldness, as the dangerous situation of religion at this juncture required.

"The nuncio, more artful than his master, and better acquainted with the political views and interests of the Roman court, was startled at the proposition of a council; and easily foresaw how dangerous such an assembly might prove, at a time when many openly denied the papal authority, and the reverence and submission yielded to it visibly declined among all. For that reason he employed his utmost address, in order to prevail on the members of the diet to proceed themselves with greater severity against the Lutheran heresy, and to relinquish their proposal concerning a general council to be held in Germany. They perceiving the nuncio to be more solicitous about the interests of the Roman court, than the tranquillity of the empire, or purity of the church, remained inflexible, and continued to prepare the catalogue of their grievances, to be presented to the pope. The nuncio, that he might not be the bearer of a remonstrance so disagreeable to his court, left Nuremberg abruptly, without taking leave of the diet.

"The secular princes accordingly, for the ecclesiastics, although they gave no opposition, did not think it decent to join with them, drew up the list (so famous in the German annals) of an hundred grievances, which the empire imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal see. This list contained grievances much of the same nature with that prepared under the reign of Maximilian. It would be tedious to enumerate each of them; they complained of the sums exacted for dispensations, absolutions, and indulgences; of the expense arising from the law-suits carried by appeal to Rome; of the innumerable abuses occasioned by reservations, commendams, and annates; of the exemption from civil jurisdiction which the clergy had obtained; of the arts by which they brought all secular causes under the cognizance of the ecclesiastical judges; of the indecent and profligate lives which not a few of the clergy led; and of various other particulars, many of which have already been mentioned among the circumstances that contributed to the favourable reception, or to the quick progress of Luther's doctrines. In the end they concluded, that if the holy see did not speedily deliver them from those intolerable burdens, they had determined to endure them no longer, and would employ the power and authority with which God had entrusted them, in order to procure relief.

"Instead of such severities against Luther and his followers as the nuncio had recommended, the *recess* or edict of the diet contained only a general injunction to all ranks of men to wait with patience for the determinations of the council which was to be assembled, and in the mean time, not to publish any new opinions contrary to the established doctrines of the church; together with an admonition to all preachers to abstain from matters of controversy in their discourses to the people, and to confine themselves to the plain and instructive truths of religion.

"The reformers derived great advantage from the transactions of this diet, as they afforded them the fullest and most authentic evidence that gross corruptions prevailed in the court of Rome, and that the empire was loaded by the clergy with insupportable burdens. With regard to the former, they had now the testimony of the pope himself, that their invectives and accusations were not malicious or ill-founded. As to the latter, the representatives of the Germantic body, in an assembly where the patrons of the new opinions were far from being the most numerous or powerful, had pointed out as the chief grievances of the empire, those very practices of the Romish church against which, Luther and his disciples were accustomed to declaim. Accordingly, in all their controversial writings after this period, they often appealed to Adrian's declaration, and to the hundred grievances, in confirmation of whatever they advanced concerning the dissolute manners, or insatiable ambition and rapaciousness of the papal court.

"At Rome, Adrian's conduct was considered as a proof of the most childish simplicity and imprudence. Men trained up amidst the artifices and corruptions of the papal court, and accustomed to judge of actions not by what was just, but by what was useful, were astonished at a pontiff, who, departing from the wise maxims of his predecessors, acknowledged disorders which he ought to have concealed; and forgetting his own dignity, asked advice of those, to whom he was entitled to prescribe. By such an excess of impolitic sincerity, they were afraid that, instead of reclaiming the enemies of the church, he would render them more presumptuous, and instead of extinguishing heresy, would weaken the foundations of the papal power, or stop the chief sources from which wealth flowed into the church. For this reason, the cardinals and other ecclesiastics of greatest eminence in the papal court, industriously opposed all his schemes of reformation, and by throwing objections and difficulties in his way, endeavoured to retard or to defeat the execution of them. Adrian, amazed on the one hand at the obstinacy of the Lutherans, disgusted on the other with the manners and maxims of the Italians, and finding himself unable to correct either the one or the other, often lamented his own situation, and often looked back with pleasure on that period of his life when he was only Dean of Louvain, a more humble but happier station, in which little was expected from him, and there was nothing to frustrate his good intentions.

"Clement VII. his successor, excelled Adrian as much in the arts of government, as he was inferior to him in purity of life, or uprightness of intention. He was animated not only with the aversion which all popes naturally bear to a council, but having gained his own election by means very uncanonical, he was afraid of an assembly that might subject it to a scrutiny which it could not stand. He determined, therefore, by every possible means to elude the demands of the Germans, both with respect to the calling of a council, and reforming abuses in the papal court, which the rashness and incapacity of his predecessor had brought upon him. For this purpose, he made choice of Cardinal Campeggio, an artful man, often entrusted by his predecessors with negociations of importance, as his nuncio to the diet of the empire assembled again at Nuremberg.

" Campeggio, without taking any notice of what had passed in the last meeting, exhorted the diet in a long discourse, to execute the edict of Worms with vigour, as the only effectual means of suppressing Luther's doctrines. The diet, in return, desired to know the pope's intentions concerning the council, and the redress of the hundred grievances. The former, the nuncio endeavoured to elude by general and unmeaning declarations of the pope's resolution to pursue such measures as would be for the greatest good of the church. With regard to the latter, as Adrian was dead before the catalogue of grievances reached Rome, and of consequence had not been laid before the present pope, Campeggio took advantage of this circumstance to decline making any definitive answer to them in Clement's name; though, at the same time, he observed that their catalogue of grievances contained many particulars extremely indecent and undutiful, and that the publishing it by their own authority was highly disrespectful to the Roman see. In the end, he renewed his demand of their proceeding with vigour against Luther and his adherents. But though an ambassador from the emperor, who was at that time very solicitous to gain the pope, warmly seconded the nuncio, with many professions of his master's zeal for the honour and dignity of the papal see, the *recess* of the diet was conceived in terms of almost the same import with the former, without enjoining any additional severity against Luther and his party.

"Before he left Germany, Campeggio, in order to amuse and sooth the people, published certain articles for the amendment of some disorders and abuses which prevailed among the inferior clergy; but this partial reformation, which fell so far short of the expectations of the Lutherans, and of the demands of the diet, gave no satisfaction and produced little effect. The nuncio, with a cautious hand, tenderly lopped a few branches; the Germans aimed a deeper blow, and by striking at the root, wished to exterminate the evil.

"Luther's famous marriage with Catharine a Boria, a nun of a noble family, who having thrown off the veil, had fled from the cloister, was very far from being approved. Even his most devoted followers thought this step indecent, at a time when his country was involved in so many calamities; while his enemies never mentioned it with any softer appellation than that of incestuous or profane. Luther himself was sensible of the impression which it had made to his disadvantage; but being satisfied with his own conduct, he bore the censure of his friends, and the reproaches of his adversaries, with his usual fortitude.

"This year the reformation lost its first protector, Frederick, Elector of Saxony; but the blow was the less sensibly felt, as he was succeeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous, though less able patron of Luther and his doctrines.

"The dissentions between the pope and emperor proved extremely favourable to the progress of Lutheranism. Charles, exasperated by Clement's conduct, and fully employed in opposing the league which he had formed against him, had little inclination, and less leisure to take any measures for suppressing the new opinions in Germany. In a diet of the empire held at Spires, the state of religion came to be considered, and all that the emperor required of the princes was, that they would wait patiently, and without encouraging innovations, for the meeting of a general council, which he had demanded of the pope. They, in return, acknowledged the convocation of a council to be the proper and regular step towards reforming abuses in the church; but contended, that a national council held in Germany would be more effectual for that purpose than what he had proposed. To his advice, concerning the discouragement of innovations, they paid so little regard, that even during the meeting of the diet at Spires, the divines who attended the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel thither, preached publicly, and administered the sacraments according to the rites of the reformed church. The emperor's own example emboldened the Germans to treat the papal authority with little reverence. During the heat of his resentment against Clement, he had published a long reply to an angry brief which the pope had intended as an apology for his own conduct. In this manifesto, the emperor, after having enumerated many instances of that pontiff's ingratitude, deceit, and ambition, all which he painted in the strongest and most aggravated colours, appealed from him to a general council. At the same time he wrote to the college of cardinals, complaining of Clement's partiality and injustice; and requiring them, if he refused or delayed to call a council, to shew their concern for the peace of the Christian church, so shamefully neglected by its chief pastor, by summoning that assembly in their own name. This manifesto, little inferior in virulence to the invective of Luther himself, was dispersed over Germany with great industry, and being eagerly read by persons of every rank, did much more than counterbalance the effect of all Charles's declarations against the new opinions."

After experiencing those varieties of opposition and success which naturally accompany the introduction of new principles and institutions, and having, under the vigorous measures of its founder, attained to a happy degree of stability, the reformation sustained a heavy loss from the death of Luther, in the year 1546. "Having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eysleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the Counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age. As he was raised up by Providence to be the author of one of the greatest and most interesting revolutions recorded in history, there is not any person perhaps, whose character has been drawn with such opposite colours. In his own age, one party, struck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they saw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be sacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a demon. The other, warmed with the admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited as the restorer of light and liberty to the Christian church, ascribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that which should be paid only to those who are guided by the immediate inspiration of Heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undistinguished censure or the exaggerated praise of his contemporaries, that ought to regulate the opinions of the present age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own system, abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend his principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which shine so conspicuously in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies must allow him to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To these may be added, with equal justice, such purity and even austerity of manners, as became one who assumed the character of a reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered, and such perfect disinterestedness as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegancies of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of his church to his disciples, remaining satisfied himself in his original state of professor in the university of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to these offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty and human passions. These, however, were of such a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but seem to have taken their rise from the same source with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, roused by great objects, or agitated by violent passions, broke out, on many occasions, with an impetuosity which astonishes men of feebler spirits, or such as are placed in a more tranquil situation. By carrying some praiseworthy dispositions to excess, he bordered sometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which exposed him to censure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in asserting them, to obstinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adversaries, to rage and scurrility. Accustomed himself to consider every thing as subordinate to truth, he expected the same deference for it from other men, and, without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth against such as disappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective, mingled with contempt. Regardless of any distinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chastised all his adversaries indiscriminately, with the same rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and abilities of Erasmus, screened them from the same gross abuse with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

" But these indecencies of which Luther was guilty, must not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with those maxims, which, by putting continual restraint on the passions of individuals, have polished society and rendered it agreeable; disputes of every kind were managed with heat, and strong emotions were uttered in their natural language, without reserve or delicacy. At the same time, the works of learned men were all composed in Latin, and they were not only authorized by the example of eminent writers in that language, to use their antagonists with the most illiberal scurrility; but in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear less shocking than in a living language, whose idioms and phrases seem gross, because they are familiar.

"In passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear most culpable, gave no disgust to his contemporaries. It was even by some of those qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accomplishing the great work which he undertook. To rouse mankind, when sunk in ignorance or superstition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry armed with power, required the utmost vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to excess. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited those to whom it must have been addressed. A spirit more amiable, but less vigorous than Luther's, would have shrunk back from the dangers which he braved and surmounted. Towards the close of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him, so that he grew daily more peevish, more irascible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be a witness of his own amazing success; to see a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to shake the foundation of the papal throne, before which the mightiest monarchs had trembled, he discovered, on some occasions, symptoms of vanity and self-applause. He must have been, indeed, more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accomplished, he had never felt any sentiment of this kind rising in his breast.

"Some time before his death he felt his strength declining, his constitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of business, added to the labour of discharging his ministerial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of constant study, besides the composition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leisure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forsake him at the approach of death; his last conversation with his friends was concerning the happiness reserved for good men in a future life, of which he spoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wished to enter soon upon the enjoyment of it. The account of his death filled the Roman catholic party with excessive, as well as indecent joy, and damped the spirit of all his followers; neither party sufficiently considering that his doctrines were now so firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flourish independent of the hand which first had planted them. His funeral was celebrated by order of the Elector of Saxony, with extraordinary pomp. He left several children by his wife, Catherine a Boria, who survived him. Towards the end of the last century, there were in Saxony, some of his descendants in decent and honourable stations."

No. VI.

Melancthon (Philip), whose support, though deficient in that energy which distinguished other reformers, promoted to a considerable degree, the cause of the reformation; was born in 1497, at Bretten, in the palatinate of the Rhine. At the university of Heidelberg, he made a remarkably rapid progress in his studies, and removing from thence to Tubingen, he continued his studies six years in that situation. Being afterwards made Professor of Greek at Wittemberg, he formed a close intimacy with Luther, whose attempts to deliver pure and primitive theology from the jargon of the schools, met with his cordial approbation, if not with his vigorous co-operation. In 1527, he was appointed by the Elector of Saxony, to visit the churches in his territories; but his greatest labour was that of drawing up the confession of faith, called the Ausburg Confession. In drawing up this confession, he shewed a due regard to the counsels of Luther. The judgment and the taste of Melancthon were equally conspicuous in this performance, in which the most accurate statements were expressed in a style at once plain, elegant, and perspicuous. The extreme caution and timidity which he invariably evinced, exposed him not unfrequently to the pointed censure of Luther, in whose estimation we may suppose decision of character to have held an important rank. In the year 1539, Melancthon assisted in the conferences at Spires, and in his journey thither, visited his mother, a pious woman, who asked him what she should believe, and how she should pray amid these religious disputes, at the same time repeating her simple creed and form of devotion: 'Continue,' said her son, 'to believe and to pray as you do at present, and do not trouble yourself about controversies.' He distinguished himself in the conferences held at Ratisbon, in 1541, and 1548. He wrote, also, a censure of the interim, and all the papers presented at those conferences.

"His greatest enemies," says Mosheim, "have borne testimony to his merit. They have been forced to acknowledge, that the annals of antiquity exhibit very few worthies that may be compared with him; whether we consider the extent of his knowledge in things human and divine, the fertility and elegance of his genius, the facility and quickness of his comprehension, or the uninterrupted industry that attended his learned and theological labours. He rendered to philosophy and the liberal arts the same eminent service that Luther had done to religion, by purging them from the dross with which they had been corrupted; and by recommending them, in a powerful and persuasive manner, to the study of the Germans. He had the rare talent of discerning truth in all its most intricate connections and combinations, of comprehending at once the most abstract notions, and expressing them with the utmost perspicuity and ease. And he applied this happy talent in religious disquisitions with such unparalleled success, that it may safely be affirmed, that the cause of true Christianity derived from the learning and genius of Melancthon, more signal advantages and a more effectual support, than it received from any of the other doctors of the age. His love of peace and concord, which was partly owing to the sweetness of his natural temper, made him desire with ardour that a reformation might be effected without producing a schism in the church, and that the external communion of the contending parties might be preserved uninterrupted and entire. This spirit of mildness and charity, carried perhaps too far, led him sometimes to make concessions that were neither consistent with prudence, nor advantageous to the cause in which he was engaged. It is, however, certain, that he gave no quarter to those more dangerous and momentous errors that reigned in the church of Rome, but maintained, on the contrary, that their extirpation was essentially necessary, in order to the restoration of true religion. In the natural complexion of this great man there was something soft, timorous, and yielding. Hence arose a certain diffidence of himself, that not only made him examine things with the greatest attention and care before he resolved upon any measure; but also filled him with uneasy apprehensions where there was no danger, and made him fear even things that, in reality, could never happen. And yet, on the other hand, when the hour of real danger approached, when things bore a formidable aspect, and the cause of religion was in imminent peril, then this timorous man was converted, all at once, into an intrepid hero, looked danger in the face with unshaken constancy, and opposed his adversaries with invincible fortitude. All this shews, that the force of truth and the power of principle had diminished the weaknesses and defects of Melancthon's natural character, without entirely removing them. Had his fortitude been more uniform and steady, his desire of reconciling all interests, and pleasing all parties less vehement and excessive, his triumph over the superstitions imbibed in his infancy more complete, he must deservedly have been considered as one of the greatest among men."*

This amiable and learned man died at Wittemberg, in 1560. His works were printed at Wittemberg, in four vols. folio, 1601.

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* See Mosheim's History of the Reformation, Cent. XVI.

No. VII.

Cranmer (Thomas), the most illustrious archbishop that ever filled the see of Canterbury, was the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq. and of Agnes, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby, in Nottinghamshire. He was born at Aslacton, in that county, July 2, 1489. Having been educated in grammar-learning, he was admitted at the age of fourteen, into Jesus College, in Cambridge, of which he afterwards became a Fellow. After he was Master of Arts, he married a gentleman's daughter, named Joan, by which he lost his fellowship. His wife dying in child-bed within a year, he was again admitted Fellow of Jesus College. In 1523, and the thirty-fourth year of his age, he was made Doctor of Divinity, Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own college, and one of the examiners of those that took the degrees in divinity. The immediate cause of his subsequent elevation in the church, was the opinion which he gave in the matter of the king's divorce. Cranmer having delivered an opinion favourable to a divorce, his majesty approving it, said, "that *that* man," meaning Cranmer, "had the sow by the right ear." Being immediately sent for to court, and made the king's chaplain, he was ordered to write upon the subject of divorce, and furnished with books for that purpose. Having finished his book, and brought several over to his opinion, he was presented to a living, and made Archdeacon of Taunton. In 1530, he was sent into France, Italy, and Germany, to discuss the affair of the king's marriage. During his residence in Germany, he married at Nuremberg, a second wife, named Anne, niece of Osiander's wife. Upon the death of Archbishop Warham, in August 1532, Cranmer was nominated for his successor, but refused to accept of the dignity, unless he could receive it without the pope's intervention. It was he that pronounced the sentence of divorce between King Henry and Queen Catherine, at Dunstable, May the 23d, 1533; he likewise married him to Anne Boleyn, and confirmed her marriage on the 28th following. In the same year he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. Being threatened with excommunication by the pope, on the ground of his sentence against Queen Catherine, he appealed to a general council, and in the ensuing parliaments contended against the pope's supremacy. A zealous promoter of the reformation, he procured the Bible to be translated into English, and recommended by royal authority.

The next step which he took, was to forward the dissolution of the monasteries, which formed one of the greatest obstacles to a reformation. In 1540, he was one of the commissioners appointed for inspecting the state of religion, and explaining some of its principal doctrines. The result of their commission was, the book entitled, "A necessary Erudition of a Christian Man." In 1541, he gave orders for taking away superstitious shrines; and in 1542, procured the "Act for the Advancement of true Religion, and the Abolishment of the contrary." Upon the death of Henry, he was one of the executors of his will, and one of the regents of the kingdom. On the 20th of February, 1545–6, he crowned King Edward VI. to whom he had been godfather. Soon after he caused the homilies to be composed, of some of which he was the author; he likewise encouraged the translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament. In the year 1549, he ordained several priests and deacons, according to the new form of ordination in the Common Prayer Book; which, through the archbishop's care, was now finished and settled by act of parliament. In 1552, he and some others compiled the Articles, and caused them to be enjoined by the King's authority. His solicitude was not, however, confined to the church of England, but extended to those protestant foreigners who fled to England, for whom he procured churches, and employed his influence with the crown. Upon the accession of Mary to the throne, he was ordered to appear before the council, and bring an inventory of his goods; with which he complied on the 27th of August, when he was commanded to keep his house. Being again summoned before the council on the 13th of September, he was ordered to be at the Star-chamber the next day, when he was committed to the Tower; partly for setting his hand to the instrument of the Lady Jane's succession; and, partly for the offer which he had recently made of justifying, openly, the religious proceedings of the late king. Some of his friends, anxious for his safety, advised him to escape, which, however, he absolutely refused to comply with. Attainted at Guildhall, and found guilty of high treason, the fruits of his archbishopric were sequestered. Upon his humble application he was pardoned the treason, though it was resolved that he should be proceeded against for heresy. In April 1554, he was, with Ridley and Latimer, removed to Oxford, with a view to a public disputation with the papists, which took place there; and on which occasion, the modesty and convincing arguments of the protestant bishops were overborne by the ignorant and impudent clamours of the papists. Two days after these disputations were closed, Cranmer and his associates were brought before the commissioners, and asked whether they would subscribe to the doctrines of popery; which they unanimously refused, and were condemned as heretics. His "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ," was ordered to be burnt, by the convocation which met this year. The sentence pronounced against him at Oxford, by Weston, being void in law, on account of the pope's authority not being yet re-established in England, a new commission was sent from Rome, for his trial and conviction. After appearing before the commissioners at St. Mary's church, Oxford, where he defended himself against the charges of blasphemy, perjury, incontinency, and heresy; he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days. On the 14th of December, the pope dispatched his letters executory to the king and queen, and to Bonner and Thirlby, Bishops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him. In these letters, Cranmer was declared contumacious, for not appearing at Rome within eighty days, according to his citation; though he was all the while detained a close prisoner. However, upon the arrival of the letters, Bonner and Thirlby, with Dr. Martin and Dr. Storey, the king and queen's proctors, proceeded to Oxford to degrade him. When they came, however, to take off his pall, which is a solemn vesture belonging only to an archbishop, "Which of you," said he, "hath a pall, to take off my pall?" implying at once their inferiority and their incompetency to degrade him. The pageant of this mock degradation being ended, they remanded him to prison, from whence he sent letters to the queen, giving her a circumstantial account of what had passed.

Hitherto the archbishop had evinced no small degree of wisdom and fortitude in his sufferings; but the period was now arrived in which he illustrated the frailty of human virtue, by taking a step which proved the great blemish of his life. Influenced by flatteries, promises, and the fear of death, he signed a recantation, wherein he renounced the protestant religion, and again embraced all the absurdities of popery. From the testimony of the industrious Mr. Strype, it appears that he was subtilly drawn into this measure by the papists, who persuaded him to subscribe six different papers; the first being expressed in ambiguous terms, capable of a favourable construction, the five following were added as explanations of it. This recantation being immediately printed was dispersed about with the greatest industry. Unsatisfied with this humiliation, the sanguinary queen resolved to glut her revenge in the destruction of the archbishop. She therefore sent for Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, and gave him instructions to prepare a sermon for the dreadful occasion. On the 24th of February, a writ was signed for the burning of Cranmer. The 21st day of March being the day appointed for the fatal catastrophe, he was brought to St. Mary's church, and placed on a temporary stage, opposite to the pulpit where Dr. Cole was to preach. During the harangue, Cranmer discovered great perturbation; frequently lifting up his hand and eyes to heaven, and pouring out floods of tears. At the close of the sermon, when Cole desired him to make a public profession of his faith, he first prayed with the greatest fervour; then exhorted the people to detach their minds from the world, to obey the king and queen, to love each other, and to abound in charity. He then made a confession of his faith, beginning with the creed, and concluding with these words; "And I believe every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the Old and New Testament.—And now," added he, "I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience more than any thing I ever did or said in my whole life; and that is the setting abroad a writing contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be; that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned. As for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester." Thunderstruck by this unexpected declaration, the popish crowd admonished him not to dissemble. "Ah!" replied he, with tears, "since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled." Upon this they pulled him off the stage with the utmost fury, and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom, opposite Baliol College; where he put off his clothes in haste, and standing in his shirt, and without shoes, was fastened with a chain to the stake. Some persons pressing him to adopt his former recantation, he replied, extending his right hand, "This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it shall first suffer punishment." Fire being applied, he thrust his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmoved, till it was consumed, crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended;" and frequently repeating, "This unworthy right hand." At length the fire ascending, he expired with his eyes raised to heaven, repeating more than once, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit." Such was the end of the celebrated Thomas Cranmer, equally honourable to himself and disgraceful to his enemies. Though the character of the archbishop was, in many respects, truly amiable, there were several parts of his conduct which were highly censurable. Mr. Gilpin, in his elegant Life of Archbishop Cranmer, published in 8vo. in 1784, remarks, that, "The character of Archbishop Cranmer hath been equally the subject of exaggerated praise, and of undeserved censure." The most indefensible parts of the archbishop's character were, the readiness with which he concurred in some of the unjustifiable proceedings of Henry VIII. and the instances in which he appears to have been influenced by intolerant principles.

Of two instances of persecution in which Archbishop Cranmer was concerned, Mr. Gilpin gives the following account: "Joan Bocher and George Paris were accused, though at different times, one for denying the humanity of Christ; the other for denying his divinity. They were both tried, and condemned to the stake: and the archbishop not only consented to these acts of blood, but even persuaded the aversion of the young king into a compliance. 'Your majesty must distinguish,' said he, informing his royal pupil's conscience, 'between common opinions, and such as are the essential articles of faith. These latter we must on no account suffer to be opposed.'" Mr. Gilpin justly observes, that "Nothing even plausible can be suggested in defence of the archbishop on this occasion; except only that the spirit of popery was not yet wholly repressed."

It does not appear that the archbishop endeavoured to promote the death of Lambert; but, as Mr. Gilpin observes, "It were to be wished he had rid his hands of the disputation likewise."*

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* See Biographia Britannica, Art. Cranmer.—Gilpin's Life of Archbishop Cranmer, &c.

No. VIII.

KNOX (John), the Scotch reformer, was born at Giffard, in East Lothian, of an ancient family, in 1504. He received his education at the university of St. Andrews, where he early discovered a considerable taste for learning: his inclination, however, led him to the study of theology, in which he made the most rapid proficiency. In 1548, he visited France, and soon after landed in England, where he was well received, and made chaplain to Edward VI. who also offered him a bishoprick, which he declined from conscientious motives, being averse to episcopacy and the common prayer. The boldness of his public discourses, and the warmth of his zeal, while they exposed him to the hatred of the great, rendered him the favourite of the people: but as they do not dispose of places, he, with several Englishmen, sought an asylum in Geneva, from the sanguinary measures of Queen Mary, in 1553, or 1554; but he soon quitted that city for Francfort, whither he was invited by some Englishmen, who had embraced the reformation; he did not, however, remain long with them, as he thought it his duty to renounce the rites of the

English church: he, therefore, returned to Geneva in the month of March, from whence he departed in August, for Scotland, where he had the satisfaction of finding that the reformation had made considerable progress during his absence. The English church at Geneva, impressed with a sense of the value of his ministry, earnestly requested his return in 1556: but his enemies triumphed in Scotland, and upon his departure, they condemned him to be burned. The affairs of the reformed in Scotland taking speedily a favourable turn, their principal leaders, who well knew the importance of the councils of Knox, and his influence over the public mind, recalled him; Calvin also encouraged him to obey the call, and to promote the welfare of the church. Knox complied in the month of October 1557: prudence, however, induced him to revisit Geneva in 1558, things having reached that point in Scotland, which precluded the possibility of useful exertion. It was at this period that he published a book against Queen Mary, and that the republic presented him with the freedom of the city.

Shortly after the ascension of Elizabeth to the throne, Knox returned to England, where he was not unmindful of his countrymen; he had the address to fix the Scotch reformation upon a solid basis, by means of the treaty of Leith, concluded in the month of July 1560. He even succeeded in establishing an ecclesiastical discipline, similar to that which prevailed in Geneva; and the superintendance of the reformed religion throughout the district of Edinburgh, was committed to his care.

In 1561, the queen arrived from France in Scotland, and caused the mass to be celebrated in her chapel: Knox made the pulpits ring with his fears, and inspired the public with them; he declaimed loudly against the luxury and profligacy of the court; censured the queen's marriage with a papist; and demanded the execution of the treaty of Leith. Knox became of course, the object of the hatred and of the threats of the great; but nothing could alter his character, nor even inspire him with that prudence which is the offspring of wisdom and of gentleness. In 1565, the pulpits were shut against him, on account of his having spoken too vehemently against Lord Darnley; and in 1571, he consented to return to Edinburgh, only upon the condition that he should be at liberty to speak with freedom against whatever he thought contrary to the good of the state, and even against those who had the command of the castle. While one cannot help honouring the purity of his motives, it is not so easy to justify the whole of his conduct.*

The character of this eminent reformer has been so well pourtrayed by our British Livy, that no apology can be necessary for inserting so elegant, spirited, and impartial a testimony. "Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness," says he, "were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper, excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he shewed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions, with respect to the queen's person and conduct. Those very qualities, however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back. By an unwearied application to study and to business, as well as by the frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he had worn out a constitution naturally strong. During a lingering illness, he discovered the utmost fortitude, and met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his character. He was constantly employed in acts of devotion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immortality, which not only preserve good men from desponding, but fill them with exultation in their last moments."*

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* See Histoire Litteraire de Geneve, tome premier.

This eminent Scotsman died at Edinburgh, in 1572, and was interred with great ceremony. The Earl of Morton, who attended his funeral, pronounced the following eulogium upon him: *There lies He who never feared the face of man.*

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* See Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland, book VI.

No. IX.

Beza (Theodore), a distinguished reformer, was born at Vezelay, in the year 1519, and afforded early proofs of those superior qualities, which are at once the earnest and the source of true elevation of character.

Beza became the early charge of his uncle Nicolas, counsellor of the parliament of Paris, and had the benefit of the instructions of Melchior Wolmar, under whom he made such rapid advances, that, in the course of seven years he had read the best Greek and Latin authors, at which period he also received his first ideas of the reformation; which did not, however, make a deep impression upon him then.

Upon Wolmar's quitting France, Beza began to study for the bar, at Orleans; from the disgust with which the study of jurisprudence inspired him, he sought relief in the perusal of the poets, and the composition of verses. In 1539, he took his degree, and repaired to Paris. One of his uncles, gratified by his attainments, procured for him two benefices, worth seven hundred crowns, and promised him a third, of the value of five thousand.

By the death of his brother, Beza became the heir of his family. Surrounded by riches and pleasures, he abandoned himself to the fascinations which they presented. In the midst of these scenes of gaiety and of intemperance, the wholesome instructions of Wolmar recurred to his mind with authority and impression, and quitting Paris, he retired to Geneva, in the year 1548, accompanied by his friend, John Crispin.

Upon his arrival at Geneva, he embraced the reformation, and publicly espoused the person to whom he had long been attached; influenced by gratitude, he soon after visited his respected master, Wolmar.

He had no sooner returned to Geneva, than the senate of Berne appointed him Professor of Greek, in the academy of Lausanne, where he composed in French verse, a drama, entitled *Abraham sacrifiant,* which procured him considerable reputation. At the request of the French refugees, he explained the Epistle to the Romans, and those of Peter; at the same period, he projected the edition of the New Testament, which he presented to the public in the year 1556.

At the pressing solicitation of Calvin, Beza undertook to finish the work of Marot upon the Psalms, and to translate into French verse, those which the poet had left unfinished; this undertaking he executed with success: the French churches adopted them universally, and they were printed with the permission of the King of France, in 1561.

The occupations of this laborious man were not always equally useful or honourable to himself; in 1554, he published a book, *De Hæreticis à Magistratu gladio puniendis*, in answer to Faustus Socinus, and especially to Sebastian Castalio, who had, in the year 1554, printed a work, entitled *De Hæreticis gladio non puniendis*. Castalio had in this work, urged some of the principal arguments in favour of tolerance; the fate of Servetus induced him to write that work, to which christian charity affixed her seal. Beza's apology for the council of Geneva in the affair of Servetus, was strictly in unison with the spirit which predominated throughout Europe; let us, however, congratulate ourselves upon being born in an age in which intolerance is become revolting, and its apology a mark of infamy.

Beza was employed, in the year 1558, with Farel and Jean Budé, to solicit the protestant princes of Germany to use their intercession with the King of France, in behalf of those Frenchmen who had embraced the reformation, and who were at that time cruelly persecuted. It was on this occasion that the Genevese theologian enjoyed the satisfaction of meeting at Francfort, the pious, the amiable Melancthon.

On his return, Calvin persuaded Beza to apply for his release to the senate of Berne, who reluctantly complied with his request. Beza immediately repaired to Geneva, in order to cultivate the society of his friend, whose wisdom and prudence he closely copied. With a view to attach so useful a person to the republic, the council presented him with his freedom, in the month of April, 1559; in the month of May, he was admitted one of the pastors, and in June, appointed Professor of Theology, and principal of the academy which had been recently founded.

Held in the highest consideration throughout Europe, some French noblemen endeavoured to attract him to the court of the King of Navarre, with a view to his disseminating the principles of the reformation there: the Prince of Condé, and the King of Navarre himself, applied to the council of Geneva to spare him. He departed, and was received with respect by those exalted characters, who, while they honoured religion, reflected the highest honour upon themselves; and who believed they were contributing most effectually to the happiness of the people, by diffusing among them that truth, the value of which they had themselves experienced.

From some of Beza's letters to Calvin, it appears that he met with a very flattering reception from the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé; he observes also, that Catherine talked to him with interest about Calvin, his afflictions, and his works. Beza displayed a noble courage in informing that princess of the cruelties exercised against the protestants; he had even a conversation at St. Germains, on the 23d of August, with the Cardinal de Lorraine, in the queen's apartment, which appeared to justify the warmest hopes of an amicable reunion; they were, however, lamentably disappointed at the conference of Poissy, which was opened on the 4th of September, by a French discourse pronounced by Beza, and which was universally admired.

The unfavourable result of the conference of Poissy did not prevent the adoption of a similar attempt to harmonize the contending parties. The queen, who felt the importance of terminating these contests, endeavoured to procure another conference between the catholic doctors, and the protestant divines; but the discussion terminated in a manner similar to that of Poissy.

Whilst these attempts at union by means of controversial discussion were being made, the protestants were massacred at Vassy, and a civil war, with all its horrors, became inevitable. Beza, affected by the death of the forty-five protestants who, unarmed, had been assassinated, in defiance of the laws which protected them, and which secured to them the privileges of public worship, followed the Prince of Condé in all his marches, cheered him by his letters when in prison, and re-animated the protestants, who were dispirited by their defeats. Deeply attached to his unhappy countrymen, he refused to quit them until 1563, after the signing of the peace.

Returning to Geneva, Beza resumed his functions of professor and of pastor. In 1564, he was deeply afflicted by the death of Calvin, who had proved constantly his friend and counsellor. Beza succeeded to the employments of his colleague, and learned to merit his credit and reputation.

What extraordinary men are we pourtraying! Whilst others have been ambitious of command, without possessing any title to it, these men appear to have avoided it, though possessed of interest to secure, and of talents to exercise it. Farel invites Calvin to Geneva, though certain of being eclipsed by the talents of his friend; Calvin refuses to become rector of the academy, and procures the appointment for Beza; Beza, in his turn, refuses the presidency of the ecclesiastical assembly which Calvin had possessed; declaring that such a distinction was well adapted to the superior talents of him who had preceded him, but that he ought not to aspire to it; adding, farther, a recommendation that the appointment might be made annual: his request was complied with; but he was chosen Principal Moderator (the name given to the president): he was thus annually confirmed in this character.

The war being rekindled in 1567, Beza assisted the reformed churches of France, by his counsels and his prayers; in 1568, he furnished an asylum for many of the French who fled from persecution. In addition to the grief which he suffered on account of the afflicted state of France, he experienced a farther trial in the loss of his brother and of his brother-in-law, by the plague; but having been called into France by some family arrangements, he had the satisfaction to snatch from a convent, one of his sisters, who had entered into it.

These multiplied occupations and frequent interruptions did not prevent Beza from edifying the church by his sermons, instructing a great number of students by his lectures, and carrying on an extended correspondence: his celebrity in France was so great, that he was consulted on all important affairs. The Queen of Navarre, the princes, and especially the admiral, entreated the council, in 1571, to permit Beza to preside at Rochelle, in a general synod of all the reformed churches in France. The confession of faith of the churches of France was then confirmed; it was also signed by the Queen of Navarre, by Henry IV. and by the Prince de Condé; two copies were taken, one of which was deposited at Rochelle, the other in the archives of Geneva.

After the execrable massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in which seventy thousand protestants were murdered, Beza exerted himself to support those of the French whom the fear of death and the love of religion banished from France; he interested in their behalf the princes of Germany, and several foreigners of rank; he also founded a French hospital in Geneva: Beza placed the funds which he had accumulated for this purpose, in the hands of the ecclesiastical assembly, who committed to him the principal direction.

Endowed eminently with a public spirit, and supplied with that persevering energy which surmounts all obstacles, the valuable life of Beza ranked high among his contemporaries as a public blessing; and secured for him an imperishable monument in the gratitude of posterity. At the advanced age of eighty-six, he terminated, with serenity and confidence, a life of piety and of faith, and entered into the joy of his Lord.

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